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**19 July 1979**

# **China Report**

**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

**No. 2**



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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT'S RESIGNATION NOTED

Beijing XINHUA in English 1947 GMT 8 Jun 79 OW

[Text] Lisbon, June 7 (XINHUA)--Portugal's President Antonio Ramalho Eanes has accepted the resignation of Carlos Alberto Mota Pinto's government, announced a communique of the presidential palace today.

The Pinto government would continue in a caretaker's capacity until being replaced.

After tendering his resignation to the president yesterday, Prime Minister Pinto told reporters that his government was in an untenable position with the Socialist Party and the Communist Party joining forces in opposition.

The Socialist Party and the Communist Party, commanding a majority in Parliament, tabled separate censure motions against the government in Parliament on June 4. The former charged the government with achieving little and the latter accused the government of incompetence in tackling domestic problems.

Under the Portuguese Constitution, any censure motion, after being debated in Parliament, should be put to vote and requires an absolute majority in Parliament for adoption. After being adopted, it comes into force in 30 days and the government must resign.

The two parties' censure motions will be voted on June 11. The Social Democratic Party and the party of the democratic and social centre, the other two parties in Parliament, have declared their opposition to the two motions. But President Antonio Ramalho Eanes pointed out in the communique that the withdrawal of a majority support for the government has brought about a very harmful result in the effectiveness of government activities.

President Eanes received the members of the Revolutionary Council today for consultation on how to resolve this new government crisis. It was reported that there were two ways, namely, one, a government will be formed by personnel appointed by the president and, two, the Parliament will be dissolved and general elections be held in advance (according to the constitution, it will be held in 1980).

The Pinto government was the tenth government since the 1974 coup d'etat. It was composed of non-party independents and was sworn in last November. In March this year, the Parliament of the republic vetoed the government's austerity budget. Prime Minister Pinto then tendered his resignation which was rejected by the president. The Parliament has approved the revised budget of the government last May. The new government crisis was touched off by the censure motions of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. The Portuguese people are worrying about the country's political and economic prospects, owing to the long instability in the country.

CSO: 4020

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### 'XINHUA' REPORTS ON POPE'S VISIT TO POLAND

Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1222 GMT 12 Jun 79 OW

["Roundup" on Pope John Paul II's Visit to Poland]

[Excerpts] Beijing, 12 Jun--Pope John Paul II, the Roman Catholic pontiff from the Vatican, concluded his 9-day "triumphant visit" to Poland on 10 June. During his visit he received a rapturous welcome from his Polish followers. According to a report, out of Poland's population of 35 million, at least 6 million people saw the pontiff.

The Catholic churches in the Vatican and Poland as well as the Polish Government repeatedly made it clear that the pope's visit was "nonpolitical." However, the West German paper FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, the Austrian paper SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN and many Western papers pointed out in their commentaries that the pontiff's visit was heavily colored by politics.

While uttering the same words spelled out by the Polish Government, such as unity, peace and opposing wars, the pope on many occasions during his visit asked the Polish authorities to allow the Poles to "freely and fully" participate in religious activities and to "safeguard human rights." He even declared that Poland has "become a divine society." Commenting on these remarks, UPI said this is "a direct challenge to the Warsaw regime."

Poland is a country under a strong religious influence. Over the past 30 years or so since the end of the war, there have been many disputes between the government and the church over a series of questions such as land reform, nationalization of industry and commerce, national education, religious freedom, complete national independence and human rights. The struggle rises and falls and has become an important part of the country's political life. In view of this strong religious force, the Polish Government has since the beginning of the 1970's exercised forbearance toward the church. Due to domestic economic difficulties and popular discontent particularly over the past few years, the government has had to seek cooperation and support from the church. The Polish Pope John Paul II hastened to visit his homeland shortly after he became the Roman Catholic pontiff. Many Europeans regarded this as the pope's seizing the opportunity to expand

church influence in Poland and strengthen the church's position in its struggle against the government.

World public opinion has further noted that the pope's visit was also a political demonstration against the Soviet Union. In his sermons, the pope on many occasions openly or obliquely pointed out Soviet control over Poland. According to a report, when Poland's supreme leader Gierek received him and touched on the subject of Soviet-Polish friendship on the day of his arrival in Warsaw, Pope John Paul II refuted Gierek by insinuation, using the word "colonialism."

Western media paid close attention to the possible influence on the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe brought about by the pope's visit to Poland. AFP reported in a dispatch that the Catholics in Lithuania listened to the broadcast of the pope's return. And many of them even went to towns near the Polish border, some 125 kilometers from Vilnius, to watch televised news reports about the pope's visit. Many people in Czechoslovakia crossed the border to Poland to see the pope. The American paper BALTIMORE SUN said: "What the pontiff is doing is sowing seeds; the Kremlin has no way of knowing what fruits will be borne by these seeds, it can only worry about this."

CSO: 4020



## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

**DIET SESSION ENDS--Tokyo, June 15 (XINHUA)--**The Diet closed its 175-day-long 87th regular session yesterday with 26 government-submitted bills shelved because the ruling liberal-democratic and opposition parties failed to make Diet business return to normality. The Diet session has been in a stalemate since June 7 due to confrontation between the ruling and opposition parties. With the close of the 87th regular session, the focus of political attention now shifts to the forthcoming talks between Prime Minister Masayoshi Ohira and U.S. President Jimmy Carter, to the Tokyo summit of seven capitalist countries and then to an extraordinary Diet session. According to press reports here, Prime Minister Ohira has tried to make the forthcoming Tokyo summit a success in order to consolidate his political position and to pave the way for an extraordinary Diet session at which he may seek an opportunity to dissolve the House of Representatives for a general election to enhance his leadership. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1700 GMT 15 Jun 79 OW]

**KOREA'S HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM--Pyongyang, June 14 (XINHUA)--**The Secretariat of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland issued an information yesterday denouncing the South Korean authorities for their recent acts in strangling democracy and human rights, according to K.C.N.A. The information pointed out that the repression of democracy and human rights has been intensified nowadays in South Korea. After mentioning the imprisonment of many students, the trial of former candidate for "president" Kim Tae-chung and the arrest of the dependents of political detainees, the information pointed out: "This patently shows that the South Korean authorities are the most truculent violators of human rights and heinous strangler of democracy. The suppression of human rights in South Korea must be brought to an immediate end, all the arrested patriotic people and democratic personages be unconditionally released and the freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and demonstration be guaranteed without delay," said the information. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1210 GMT 14 Jun 79 OW]

CSO: 4020

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'AFP' CITES TAIPEI INTELLIGENCE ON DENG'S MID-MARCH SPEECH

Hong Kong AFP in English 0400 GMT 15 Jun 79 OW

[Text] Taipei, June 15 (AFP)--Chinese Senior Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping has made a self-criticism about the current situation in China, a Nationalist intelligence report claimed here today.

"It seems that I have caused a disaster," Mr Deng was quoted as having said in a report at a session of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) held in Peking in mid-March. A copy of the report was recently made available by Chinese Nationalist intelligence sources in Taiwan.

The report concentrated on responsibility for three issues: The big-character wall poster campaign, the expedition against Vietnam, and the initiation of big economic reconstruction projects.

Mr Deng's report intimated that up to the time of his self-criticism in mid-March no one in the Chinese communist leadership has said anything critical about the three issues. In his own words, however, "someone has tried to hurt me maliciously, someone rejoiced in my misfortune, and someone stood by doing nothing."

"In a few more days, we shall have a meeting," Mr Deng reportedly told the CCP Central Committee. "How are we going to explain these things," he asked.

He continued in his report: "Since no one has come up to say anything, I guess they want me to say something. Now I am going to say it. It does not matter whether what I am going to say is right or wrong, but please don't misunderstand me and think that I am attempting to assume the authority of someone else."

The last remark clearly indicates that Mr Deng felt someone in a higher position in the leadership should have made a public statement on the three issues, observers said.

During a discussion of the human rights movement in China Mr. Deng reportedly shouted: "Any counterrevolution should be suppressed. Nevertheless my

view is--let the people put up the big-character wall posters. We can grab a few bad people with evidence against them, but leave the others alone."

Mr. Deng said that by doing so "at least we can keep (the wall posters) as advertisements for the consumption of the foreigners, if not for our own people."

As to the economic situation, Mr Deng said "the tone [as received] is too high and the infrastructure does not support it."

He pointed out: "A little section chief is in the position of signing contracts worth tens of millions of U.S. dollars, to the extreme embarrassments of the central government. If we don't approve these contracts, we shall lose face. If we do, [words indistinct] can we find the money."

Mr Deng noted that putting together all the purchasing contracts signed in the past year, big and small, "we would run into red (deficit) to the tune of 18,000 million (U.S. dollars) if we want to honour all these contracts."

For that reason, Mr. Deng said, "we must put a break (on these practices) immediately. The face problem can wait."

On the war with Vietnam, Vice-Premier Deng said: "Though we have suffered much bloodshed, yet we finally won the war."

He remarked that while "the Cubans of the Orient" had been badly beaten, "yet some of our own comrades complained of the war."

CSO: 4020

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'XINHUA' BACKGROUND REPORT ON NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

Beijing XINHUA in English 0100 GMT 17 Jun 79 OW

[XINHUA headline: "Background Information: National People's Congress"]

[Text] Beijing, June 17 (XINHAU)--The National People's Congress is the highest body of state power of the People's Republic of China. The deputies are elected indirectly for a term of five years by the people's congresses of 21 provinces, three municipalities directly under the central government and five autonomous regions and by the People's Liberation Army. Deputies for Taiwan Province are elected by Taiwan compatriots who live on the mainland.

At present, deputies to people's congresses for districts in big cities and for smaller cities that are not divided into districts, people's communes and county towns are elected directly. These people's congresses then elect deputies to congresses at the next higher level and so on, up through county, province or municipality to the national level.

The National People's Congress is supposed to meet every year. When it is not in session, its Standing Committee exercises the functions and powers vested in it by the National People's Congress.

The first session of the current Fifth National People's Congress was held in February and March 1978 and had 3,497 deputies. The representation was as follows: Workers, 26.7 percent; peasants, 20.6 percent; People's Liberation Army, 14.4 percent; revolutionary cadres, 13.4 percent; intellectuals, 15 percent; outstanding patriots, 8.9 percent; and returned overseas Chinese, 1 percent. Women accounted for 21.2 percent of the total. Deputies under 55 years old made up 62.9 percent. All China's 34 national minorities were represented and their deputies accounted for 10.9 percent.

The first session of the Fifth National People's Congress last year elected a 196-member Standing Committee. Ye Jianying was elected chairman and there were twenty vice-chairmen.

Deputies to the National People's Congress and local people's congresses receive no pay for performing their social service. They receive leave with pay from their work units while attending the people's congress or fulfilling other duties as deputies.

## PARTY AND STATE

### REBUTTAL OF 'THE POLITICAL LINE DECIDES EVERYTHING' THEORY

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 25 Mar 79  
pp 17-20, 16

[Article by Ceng Zhaoxin 2582 6856 2450 : "On Lin Biao's and the 'Gang of Four's' Theory that the Political Line Decides Everything"]

[Text] By word-juggling, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" preached as one of their many fallacies that the political line decides everything, tops everything, and embraces everything. What does "the political line decides everything" mean? The "Concise Philosophical Dictionary," compiled at the bidding of the "gang of four" and published in Shanghai, says: "The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and the political line and the power of leadership exercised by a class decide the class affiliation of factories and enterprises as well as the character of the economic base." Thus, according to their generalization, the political line decides the question of leadership and the character of the economic base. This led to the conclusion that the political line means everything. Then the political line was used as a yardstick of consciousness, and the fallacy that consciousness of line is the "fundamental consciousness" appeared. Next, the political line was used as a demarcation between classes, and another fallacy followed in natural order: the criterion of line is the "fundamental criterion." Finally, line struggle was considered an impetus to social development, and the fallacy that line struggle is the "fundamental motive force" for social development assumed dangerous dimensions. Thereafter, full attention to production meant deviating from the line; striving for professional proficiency meant breaking away from the line; and steadfastness at work meant forgetting the line. Although theirs was obviously a counterrevolutionary revisionist line, they called it a "lifeline"; although it was obviously used as a whip to enforce dictatorial enslavement, they called it a "line of happiness"; and although it had brought the national economy to the verge of collapse, they called it a "line of victory."

Does the economic base decide the political line, or vice versa, after all? Explaining Marx's epoch-making work "The Critique of Political Economy," Engels said: "Not only for economics, but for all historical sciences (and all sciences that are not natural sciences are historical), a revolutionizing



discovery was made with this proposition that "the mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general"; that social and political relations, all the theoretical viewpoints which emerge in history, are to be comprehended only when the material conditions of life of the respectively corresponding epochs are understood and the former are derived from these material conditions." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 117).

Political line is an ideological form and a part of the superstructure serving as the general policy of a political party or the principal regulation of military tactical principles. In his evaluation of the materialistic concept of history, Lenin said: This type of theory "discards subjectivism and arbitrariness in the choice of a particular 'dominant' idea or in its interpretation, and discloses the roots of all ideas and all the various tendencies, without exception, in the condition of the material forces of production." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 586). Revolutionary tactical principles cannot be formulated only according to revolutionary emotions. They must be based on an objective observation of the economic relations which give rise to the interrelations among the various classes and to other relations. Chairman Mao said: "In the last analysis, the impact, good or bad, great or small, of the policy and the practice of any Chinese political party upon the people depends on whether and how much it helps to develop their productive forces, and on whether it fetters or liberates these forces. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 980). The correctness or incorrectness of a political line is therefore determined by the way it liberates productive forces and advances people's welfare. We can see that a political line not only is determined by the economic base, but must also be tested in economic life before we can be sure whether it is good or bad and whether it plays a big or a small role. Thus instead of the political line deciding the economic base, it is the economic base that decides the political line. This is the sole correct materialistic concept of history.

It is true that a political line has some countereffects on the economic base, but countereffects can never be decisive, just as the secondary can never be primary. Furthermore, the countereffects of a line can be manifested only through other media and under certain conditions. If we merely shout about the omnipotence of the political line without noting the conditions of material life or studying the laws of social activities in various spheres, we are actually deviating from the irresistible trend of history and will get lost in the labyrinth of oft-repeated, shopworn phraseology. Even though a correct political line has been formulated, it will remain only on paper unless there are cadres to implement it and people to practice it. Political line is, after all, an ideological form, and special conditions are required for the transformation of consciousness into matter. To develop social economy, we must have a series of economic measures and specific policies instead of relying on a correct political line alone. This line of reasoning has been proved by realities in our land and should be applicable to the political sphere as well.



Using a political line to intimidate people, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" invented a reactionary formula: Line consciousness is the "fundamental consciousness." Thus anyone having consciousness of the line is a revolutionary; without it, he is either nonrevolutionary or counterrevolutionary. On the strength of this formula, they persecuted a large number of fine party cadres and installed many bad people in high offices. It was a tragic situation in which "musical instruments are destroyed and abandoned, earthen pots sound like thunder, slanderers are highly regarded, and wise counsels are ignored." Their sworn ally in the Northeast said: "Lei Feng's good service to the people is but a minor matter, because it did not indicate high consciousness." Then what is consciousness in their opinion? It was indicated only by the degree of severity in attacking others. At the very beginning of the Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao clamored: This is a movement to "attack a number of cadres." The "gang of four" called it "a struggle against people in authority" or the struggle "against the bourgeoisie in the party." Thus the fallacy of "fundamental consciousness" concocted by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" was dished out in its entirety. To raise people's "consciousness" to an absurd height, they created such monstrosities as "climbing the slope of ideology" and grossly exaggerated the slightest mistake. After all, what is the criterion for measuring the class consciousness of the proletariat? A revolutionary's consciousness should be measured mainly by his sense of responsibility for the revolution, his enthusiasm toward his comrades, and his endeavor to perfect himself. These three requisites will make him noble-minded, pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, and a man of value to the people. It would be absurd to say that a revolutionary--who has been well-tempered in the complex class struggle, is well-intentioned, and works selflessly--has no consciousness. When Chen Duxiu and Wang Ming were in power, many comrades bravely stood on the execution ground and calmly faced death. Can the high communist consciousness as shown by their dedication to the revolutionary cause be negated simply because they had failed to identify the erroneous line? During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, those comrades who were loyal, open and aboveboard, and courageous enough to resist and struggle against the perverted actions of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and those who carried out their silent protest and concealed their burning rage behind their grave anxiety, all manifested their high consciousness. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were actually trampling the Marxist ideological and political line underfoot when never-ending disputes, open participation in gang activities, running clandestine errands everywhere, disruption of unity, malicious intent, sheer arrogance, disregard of popular will, perpetration of evil deeds, infliction of serious damage to people, and persecution of loyal and good people were regarded by them as manifestations of consciousness of line. They also talked such nonsense as "people who keep their heads low to watch the ground when pulling a cart" or "behaving like sheep" lack line consciousness. The kind of line consciousness they talked about meant only willingness to join their network of gangs in order to serve as ruffians to "loot burning houses" during the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Related to the "fundamental consciousness"--which confuses black with white--was the "fundamental criterion," another fallacy dished out by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," whereby the political line serves as a demarcation between

not only good and bad people, but also different classes during the socialist period. In the early days of the Great Cultural Revolution, Lin Biao trumpeted about "classifying people according to individual characteristics," meaning that willingness or unwillingness to join their gangs was the "fundamental criterion" for judging whether a person was a revolutionary or a capitalist roader. Since the motive behind this criterion was too obvious and could be very easily seen through, the "gang of four" created the "line criterion" as a means of demarcation and played up the "theory of classifying people according to their group alignment." They said: "The criterion of line is the fundamental criterion for identifying the bourgeoisie in the party" and for classifying people as either the targets or the motive force of revolution following the "new change of class relations." Thus the economic relations used by Lenin as a scientific criterion for class differentiation was negated. According to the "gang of four's" criterion, any who "followed a political line" or "proceeded from a political line" were classified as members of some class or groups to be "separately listed." This list contained numerous different categories, and their labels were frightening. In fact, differences between political lines cannot be simply treated as differences between groups. Although related in some way, these two types of differences are, in the main, strictly separate. The former means the difference between political or ideological convictions, while the latter concerns the organization of alliances or mountain strongholds. In the complex class struggle, is it correct to deal someone such a blow that he "can never raise his head again" and to treat him as an enemy simply because he has carried out the wrong line of his superior? This is certainly not in line with our party policy. Generally speaking, the difference between political lines cannot be equated to the difference between revolution and counter-revolution.

This was how Comrade Mao Zedong analyzed the Wang Ming line in his article "Our Study and the Current Situation." On the one hand, he pointed out that the political tactics, the military tactics, and the cadre policy which the central leading body had adopted at that period were wrong in the main aspect. On the other hand, he also pointed out that on such fundamental questions as opposing Jiang Jieshi and carrying out the Agrarian Revolution and the struggle of the Red Army, there was no dispute between ourselves and the comrades who committed errors. And even the tactical side, he added, had to be analyzed. He further pointed out that on the question of land, the policy of allotting no land to the landlords and poor land to the rich peasants was ultraleftist and erroneous, but that "these comrades were at one with us on confiscating the land of the landlords for distribution among peasants who had little or no land." This analytical approach in dealing with a wrong line is a brilliant application of materialistic dialectics. We should adopt the same approach in dealing with our comrades who have erred. Comrade Mao Zedong set a fine example for us in 1935, when Zhang Guotao carried out splittism during the Red Army's Long March. He disobeyed the Party Central Committee's order, led part of the Fourth Front Red Army into Xikang without permission, and set up a bogus central committee to undermine the Red Army's unity. In October 1936, in response to the call of, and thanks to the education by, the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, the

broad masses of commanders and fighters of the Fourth Front Army went up north, against Zhang Guotao's will, and triumphantly joined forces with the First Front Army in Northern Shanxi. They even participated in the struggle to expose and criticize Zhang Guotao. At first, some comrades did not quite see the point in this whole affair. Chairman Mao personally visited their caves and had heart-to-heart talks with them. He pointed out that Zhang Guotao was sent by the Party Central Committee to the Fourth Front Army, and so he and the Central Committee should be responsible for the mistake, for which no other comrades were to blame. His smiles, handshakes, and warm and instructive words soon removed the obstacles in these comrades' minds and whatever anguish there had been among them was once and for all eliminated. Comrade Mao Zedong never hated, belittled, or rejected those who had followed Zhang Guotao's line. His action sharply contrasted with that of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," who preached that "we are the decisive factor in classification" and advanced the "theory of group alignment."

Practice has proved the serious metaphysical nature of the claim of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" that "once the line is wrong, everything will go wrong." Furthermore, in stressing the importance of political line, they often interpreted differences in thinking, understanding, work methods, and forms of activities in their daily work and daily life as differences in line. "Line" was used to fetter people, resulting in the stifling of a lively socialist political life and democracy. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were a conspiratorial group of careerists and counterrevolutionaries, old and new. Their program and political line embraced the will and desire of all reactionaries for vengeance. In strictly scientific terms, the struggle between them and us, far from being a struggle between two lines in the party, was a struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, and a pitched battle between brightness and darkness and between China's two destinies. As to those who have been deceived and influenced into saying or doing wrong things, however, we should adopt the traditional method of line struggle in the party. This is the peculiar feature of this struggle, as well as a scientific, dialectical, and analytical approach. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" have created great confusion in this connection, and we must clarify and rectify the situation.

While carrying out unprecedented outrages and persecution through their so-called "line struggle," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" still tried to comfort people with the idea that this was the "fundamental motive force" to promote social development. The "Concise Philosophical Dictionary" published in Shanghai says: "In a class society, the important ideological and political struggles between two antagonistic classes or between different groups in a class are all line struggles." Here the words "in a class society" and "are all" imply that line struggle is a universal phenomenon in a class society. Jiang Qing said: "China has for a long time followed the struggle between the Confucianists and the Legalists. There were certainly Confucianists at the earlier as well as the later stages, and they still exist." Then she even tried to sway public opinion by saying that "the struggle between Confucianists and Legalists produced a continuous influence which is still felt today and which will continue to exist in the future. So, accord-



ing to the words "has for a long time followed," "continuous influence" and "continue to exist," social progress in the past, at present, and the future was, is, and will be attributed to line struggles. Is line struggle the "fundamental motive force?" Certainly not. The fundamental motive force for social development lies in basic social contradictions, and the motive force for the development of a class society lies in class struggle.

Generally speaking, the struggle between political lines takes place inside one class. Marx and Engels did not worry about this type of struggle, because they considered it a motivating force for developing the proletariat itself. "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere through internal struggle." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 434). The development of the proletariat acts as a strong lever for the development of the modern society, as well as the gravedigger of capitalism. However, it does not mean the development of society as a whole. Furthermore, line struggle is by no means without interruption, while social development continues throughout all ages and retains its vitality all the time. Is it then correct to say that an on-and-off struggle could become a constant motivating force for social development?! Anyone familiar with our party's history knows that from the time of its founding up to the present, line struggle has not always existed. The fundamental motivating force for developing Old China into New China has been the revolutionary struggle by the broad masses under CCP leadership. At present, the progress of our great socialist motherland is faster than it has ever been. The claim that "the struggle between the Confucianists and the Legalists has continued up to now" is sheer nonsense. The so-called "theory of the fundamental motivating force" is divorced from concrete historical foundation, because it treats a mere ideological form, namely the political line, as the basic motivating force of history. Furthermore, they disregarded the peculiarities of different historical facts and tailored certain incidents of daily life—which took place at a certain time and in a certain place—into a panacea for promoting the development of the entire society. This is an outright idealist conception of history. Through line struggle, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" left no peace for the party, state, and people. "To speak the truth is to commit a crime; to lie is meritorious; to parrot the official language is to ensure safety; and to brag is a way to promotion." From this, we can clearly see whether the "fundamental motive force" they trumpeted served as a refueling station on the road of progress for history, or as a black whirlpool for restoration and retrogression! Lin Biao and the "gang of four" adulterated our party line education for the masses as mass line struggle with such methods as "making a clean breast of line problems" and "attacking people at every level in the light of realities." They infinitely enlarged the scope of line struggle and incited the people to destroy one another, causing grave calamities and leaving indelible scares on the people. This is a serious lesson in the history of the communist movement. In their so-called line struggle, everyone had to follow a political line, and once a person was hooked up to one, he could only close his eyes and stake all he had, including his hard-earned capital, on it—like those who earned their living in foreign firms and the stock exchange houses in a tense, risky, and appalling atmosphere. They split the people, broke up families, and had the venom of vipers. Yet they shouted, "Line struggle tops everything."

Lin Biao and the "gang of four" enslaved people mentally with "line-phobia" and vigorously practiced obscurantism as the main component of their "de-fication" movement. They attempted to resist and oppose the scientific socialist movement by creating a new religion, and held that people should behave like religious disciples and remember to say "Amen, God" or "Amida Buddha," and that whenever they were in trouble, they needed only chant these words to transform evils into good fortune. They also held that as long as people could spare 5 minutes to recite the well-remembered oracle, a "1,000-year dynasty" would begin right there. "Political line means everything" was the magic phrase to change a political line into a new religion.

The formulation of Marxist line is not the handiwork of an individual talented leader, but of the revolutionary class and masses. A proletarian leader plays his important role by summing up the experiences of revolutionary mass movements. This is how leaders fulfill their class mission of sharing every weal and woe with the masses. This is the special traditional spirit of our proletariat. The enemy of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has not only openly reviled and attacked us, but also, worse still, shaken and destroyed the people's faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought by treating it as a religion in a Bible. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were evil stars who brought untold misery to the people, yet disguised themselves as saviors. Political line was used by them as a talisman to turn black into white or as a figleaf to conceal their ugly features. They deceived the people by saying: Never mind your present suffering. We are thinking of your longlasting welfare and must first solve the line problem. If you are hungry, it is only because we are trying to straighten out the line and prevent revisionism. If you are spiritually poor, it is only because we are purifying you and raising your line consciousness. If you feel oppressed, with no way to speak out, this is only because you are meeting the line struggle requirements, and you must remember that "line means everything." This was how they exploited the people's rights under the pretext of line and by pretending that there is a more lofty "goal" than people's welfare. And for this goal, people had to sacrifice their happiness, suffer misery, and have no regret, even though they could not lead normal human lives. What hypocrisy! This is a religion 10 times more hypocritical than those promising happiness in the next reincarnation. Creating myths, fooling the people, and enforcing fascist autocracy--these are the reactionary essence of Lin Biao's and the "gang of four's" "theory that the political line decides everything."

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## PARTY AND STATE

### FORMER KUOMINTANG OFFICIAL TO AID PRC MODERNIZATION

Beijing XINHUA in English 0819 GMT 17 Jun 79 OW

[Text] Beijing, June 17 (XINHUA)--A former top Kuomintang official, who returned from the United States the day before yesterday to settle in China, said today that, as one of the 900 million Chinese, he was ready to contribute his share to the country's socialist construction and its new long march towards modernization.

Speaking to reporters here this afternoon, 85-year-old Miao Yuntai said, "I tasted life in the Manchu Dynasty and under the Nationalist Government. For a time I looked forward to Western bourgeois democracy. But my experience over the decades tells me that socialism is the only way out for China."

He said he had lived abroad for 30 years and owing to news blackout, he knew very little about the general situation, political set-up and economic achievements of new China in its early days.

On his first return in 1973, he said, he was impressed by what he saw of new China's achievements during his tours of northeast and northwest China. He said it was unusual for a country like new China to have scored such great success in such a short time.

"When I travelled to southwest and south China and some border areas during my second visit to China in 1976, after the downfall of the gang of four, I placed still greater hope in new China. I was inspired by what China had achieved under such difficult and poor conditions. I was convinced that it was possible for people under socialism to fight like an army against the elements and improve the well-being of the people as a whole.

"Old China was like a sheet of loose sand while new China is full of vigour and vitality," Miao Yuntai said. "This phenomenal change was brought about thanks to the leadership given by Chairman Mao and the contributions made by Premier Zhou and other founders of new China.

"Although Chairman Mao, Premier Zhou and Chairman Zhu De have left us, many veterans are still around and many young and middle-aged people have displayed a very high sense of patriotism. United as one, well organized and highly disciplined, they are now working hard to build socialism. All this has left a most favourable impression on me," he said.

He pledged to contribute his all to the socialist motherland.

CSO: 4020



## PARTY AND STATE

### PROFESSOR'S USE OF HISTORY TO SUPPORT 'GANG OF FOUR' CRITICIZED

Guangzhou XUESHU YANJIU [ACADEMIC RESEARCH] in Chinese No 1, 20 May 78  
pp 75-81

[Article by Li Shi [6786 1395] Research Institute of Philosophy and Social Sciences of Guangdong Province: "Evaluating the True Character of a Professor Citing Examples of History to Attack Personalities Today by Innuendo on a Grand Scale"]

[Excerpts] It is generally known that a certain professor gained considerable fame during the few years that the "gang of four" controlled ideology and the public opinion front and when citing examples of history to attack personalities today by innuendo, was rampant, by relying on two factors: one was that the "gang of four" took a fancy to him, and the second was that he bartered away his honor for the "gang of four's" patronage.

Ever since committing the great political swindle of adopting the slogan of "criticizing Lin Biao, criticizing Confucius," of "shooting three arrows at one time," to concocting the history of the struggle between Confucianists and Legalists, the "gang of four" have from beginning to end throughout the entire course of their citing examples of history to attack personalities today by innuendo raised the banner of anti-Confucianism. Our great leader Chairman Mao had already pointed out on many occasions that it is right to oppose Confucianism and that it is wrong to venerate Confucius. The "gang of four"—just as all other opportunists and revisionists—were in the habit of using banners of great movements as "tiger skins" to intimidate people, and of using the phrases and expressions of Marxism to shield their anti-Marxism. The "gang of four" neither criticized Lin Biao nor truly criticized Confucius; they only used anti-Confucianism as a disguise to carry out their criminal activities, trying to usurp party and state power. They found in Confucius a welcome and hand cudgel to beat down anybody who opposed them, calling the opponent "a disciple or grandson-disciple of Confucius" or a "present-day Confucius." Anybody opposing this kind of citing examples of history to attack personalities today by innuendo was labeled as belonging to the "Uphold-Confucianism Party." For this purpose the "gang of four" not only inculcated with their ideas such men as Liang Xiao, Luo Siding, and Tang Xiaowen to serve as their willing tools, and as such to produce great

quantities of sinister writings of this kind of citing examples of history, but they also sought to have them as their "shop sign" to deceive the masses as well as to have "scholars" through whom citing examples of history to attack personalities today by innuendo could be put out on a large scale. They took a fancy to this certain professor in Guangdong for displaying an anti-Confucian "signboard" and deliberately bought him over and promoted him. Already as early as 1973 the "gang of four" sent him to Beijing and other places, ostensibly on lecture tours but actually to bang the drum for their citing examples of history and to "make a stormy sea stormier." At the 1974 Symposium on Annotating and Translating the Works of the Legalists, he was engaged as a consultant and treated as a distinguished guest. During the symposium, Jiang Qing, in order to raise his status, entrusted him in the Great Hall in front of all people to "go back and urge on the party committee of Guangdong Province," bestowing on him the official status of an "imperial commissioner," higher in rank than Provincial Party Committee Secretary Ling Jiayu. She later also presented him with books with her handwritten inscription to indicate her high regard for him and her close friendship. When he fell sick, he was brought to Beijing for treatment. Jiang Qing not only sent some shady cadres of both sexes to comfort him attentively, but even had the plan of treatment checked and approved by Zhang Chuqiao.

The certain professor repaid the "gang of four" for the way they doted on him by selling himself to them, body and soul. He said: "Now that the central authority has confidence in me, I shall be especially careful not to disappoint their expectations." The central authority that he referred to was the "gang of four," of course, and his actions certainly did not disappoint the "gang of four's expectations." Despite his age, frailty, and serious illness, he toured over 10 provinces and municipalities all over the country during the past few years to give his "lectures," creating a very bad impression. He continued to concoct articles in close coordination with the counterrevolutionary pace of the "gang of four." Many of his articles were ranked as key articles and published in conspicuous places in the central newspapers and publications.

This venerable professor was the first to trumpet the theory that the struggle between Confucianists and Legalists permeated all of history. This theory is the core of the great swindle concocted by the "gang of four" about history being a struggle between Confucianists and Legalists. He bragged that he was an authority on the history of Chinese philosophy and finally, in disregard of the true aspects of history, catered to the likes of the "gang of four," energetically selling their counterrevolutionary tales and searching out or fabrication in every possible way theoretical and historical evidence for these tales.

In the middle of June 1974, the renegade Jiang Qing delivered a notorious speech at Tianjing in which she established six criteria to distinguish the two philosophical schools, the Confucianists and the Legalists, namely: "Legalists loved the people; Confucianists oppressed the people"; "Legalists stress unity; Confucianists are divisive"; "Legalists love their country; Confucianists betray their country." This was a ludicrous attempt to fully

encompass all historical personalities and events and to write a large number of shady, insinuating, and analogizing articles to attack our beloved Premier Zhou and other proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation and to prettify themselves. This kind of distortion and falsification of history wilfully tramples underfoot historical materialism and historical dialectics and is a contemptible way of replacing class struggle with the struggle between Confucianists and Legalists. As to the certain professor in Guangdong, this should not have been difficult to discern. However, in the latter part of June, in a speech at Zhongshan University, he enlarged on such stuff as the struggle between Confucianists and Legalists comprising the struggle between "patriotism and treachery, unity and divisiveness, materialism and idealism." He followed this up at a different meeting with a long speech to the effect that "the struggle between the Confucianist and Legalist schools" is "the struggle between transformation and antitransformation, between reform and antireform, between unity and divisiveness, between restoration and antirestoration, between progress and retrogression." He thus tried to use this obsolete mold to surreptitiously substitute these concepts for the scientific methods of analyzing classes and class struggle. Political degeneration will of necessity resort to the ideological weapons of the bourgeoisie. If the venerable professor again picks up the method of abstract deductions which he had already criticized with a stern voice and countenance, this will be his inevitable expression of scrambling to march in the same counterrevolutionary pace as the "gang of four." Following the intense publicity campaign for the farce of the Confucianist-Legalist struggle, he also energetically used his influence to give it positive affirmation and to propagate it far and wide.

The "gang of four" waved the banner of antirestoration to engage in restoration. If Liang Xiao and Luo Siding concocted the restoration and antirestoration struggle, supposed to have taken place for as long as several hundred years in our country's feudal society, people will only give a snort of contempt. But this certain professor in Guangdong went even further and propounded a 1,000 years restoration theory, alleging that the main contradiction in the 1,000 years of early feudal society from the two Han dynasties to Sui and Tang was still "the struggle between restoration and antirestoration," with the "aristocratic families and powerful clans" representing the "surviving remnants of the slave-owning system" and constituting the restoration party. He also asserted that in this historical period the political representatives of common people landlords, such as Liu Bang, Han Wudi, Cao Cao, also including Li Shimin, Wu Zetian, and others, were all Legalists, and that "all pre-Tang Legalists fought the aristocratic families and powerful clans." Since they fought the "aristocratic families and powerful clans," they were of course fighting the restoration party. In other words, all Legalists belong to the antirestoration party. Through the topsy-turvy deductions of this certain professor, all the family and clan struggles within the landlord class are transformed into a struggle for or against restoration, a struggle of Confucianists and Legalists. He really wracked his brain to make the theory of the 1,000 years of restoration "serve the present-day struggle."



At the same time as he was propounding in high-sounding talk the theory of 1,000 years of restoration in the early stages of the feudal system, he also proposed that the Confucianist-Legalist struggle during the later stages of feudalism were a struggle between the decaying feudal system and the new production relations in their embryonic stage. He asserted that indications of the decline of feudal society had already appeared in the Song period, when small-scale farming and home handicraft production began to separate, and when capitalist production relations began to sprout as a commodity economy germinated. He determined that the Legalist change in attitude in post-Song times from one of suppressing commerce to one of regarding commerce as important reflects the "germination" of the new capitalism.

According to the interpretations of this certain professor, the aristocratic families and powerful clans which represented the forces working for a restoration of the slave-owning system still held power for a long time after the Eastern Han period, and the system of armies of tenant farmers was a disguised form of slavery. In that case, was restoration of the slave-owning system not already achieved? Was it then not after the Han dynasty that there was a regression to slavery for as long as several hundred years? Was feudalism not yet established once and for all by the time of the Tang Dynasty, or at least not yet completely established? If this is indeed so, how can feudal society begin to decline at the beginning of the Song Dynasty? And how can capitalist production relations begin to germinate?

Chairman Mao already established a long time ago that feudalism started in Chinese history with the Zhou and Qin dynasties. This certain professor is completely at odds with Chairman Mao's scientific conclusions, if the professor endlessly overstates the surviving remnants of slavery in the feudal society and concocts the shocking theory of 1,000 years of restoration. Chairman Mao also pointed out: "The extreme hardship and backwardness of the peasants created by the cruel exploitation and oppression of the peasants by the landlord class is the fundamental reason for the stagnation and backwardness in the economic and social life of Chinese society during these thousands of years." Since this certain professor extends backward to the utmost the time when feudalism was established in our country, and extends forward to the utmost the germination of capitalism in our country, he covers up the fact that the thousands of years of economic stagnation had as their fundamental reason the cruel exploitation and oppression of the peasants by the landlord class. He also willfully alters the fact that "the principal contradiction in feudal society was the contradiction between the peasant class and the landlord class," and changes it into a Confucianist-Legalist struggle of contradictions over restoration and antirestoration during the earlier period, and a struggle of contradictions during the later period between the budding new capitalist production relations, represented by both Legalists and Confucianists, on the one hand and the decadent and declining feudal production relations on the other hand. The history of class struggle is transformed into a history of Confucianist-Legalist struggle; this is completely at odds with Chairman Mao's scientific conclusions.

That certain professor not only emphatically asserts that there was a Confucianist-Legalist struggle throughout the entire period of feudalism, but also asserts that in modern times there is also a Confucianist-Legalist struggle. Since the Confucianist-Legalist struggle "influences the present, extends into the present," a part of modern Chinese history must be falsified into the history of Confucianist-Legalist struggle. In a small booklet entitled 'On the Confucianist-Legalist Struggle,' a poisonous influence spread over the whole country, the notorious Liang Xiao then takes as a topic the so-called "Confucianist-Legalist struggle at the time of the bourgeois democratic revolution," and includes in it the history of the Chinese people's 80 years of struggle against imperialism and feudalism. This certain professor was unwilling to lag behind in this respect and contributed his own original creation. In 1975, in the new edition of his "Simplified History of Chinese Philosophy (revised edition)" he departed from his previous views and asserted: "The Confucianist-Legalist struggle that lasted over 2,000 years has had different class bases and different political content in the different historical periods, but it was always the struggle of the two political lines, innovation against conservatism, progress against retrogression, and at the same time, on the ideological front, it signified the struggle between materialism and idealism."

This is the greatest distortion of modern Chinese history. Everybody knows that modern Chinese history is the history of China being transformed by a combination of imperialism and Chinese feudalism into a semicolonial, semi-feudal society. It is also the history of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people against imperialism and its running dogs. Chairman Mao had arrived at comprehensive scientific conclusions with regard to modern Chinese history. It the certain professor preposterously tried to have what he called "the struggle between those who follow the Legalists and oppose the Confucianists on the one hand and those who venerate Confucius and oppose Legalism on the other hand under the new historical conditions" to replace the revolutionary character, revolutionary target, and revolutionary motivation of modern China, it fully reveals his betrayal of the wise conclusions reached by Chairman Mao and the professor's servility to the counterrevolutionary politics of the "gang of four."

The people remember that before 1973 this certain professor had always suggested that the Confucianist-Legalist struggle was a politico-ideological struggle between the landlord class and the slave-owning class restricted to the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods, and that in the post-Han period it was difficult to distinguish who was and who was not a Legalist. Following the ascent and spread of citing examples of history to attack personalities today by innuendo, this certain professor made a 180-degree turnabout and changed his tune. The thoroughness and extent of his change fully explains that this certain professor had decided to jump on the counterrevolutionary bandwagon of the "gang of four," to sing their tune and to walk their road.

In a speech delivered in June 1976 he ranged from the Spring and Autumn and the Warring States periods to Yen Fu and Zhang Taiyan of modern time, explaining at great length that in Chinese history there was not only the Confucianist-Legalist struggle is an ideological struggle and also a political struggle." He said: "We can simply and clearly explain in two general terms the basic difference between the two schools, the Confucianists and the Legalists: the Legalists stress the present, not the past; the Confucianists stress the past and not the present. We still have this problem today whether to stress the present, not the past, or whether to stress the past and not the present. Throughout history this was also an extremely violent struggle." This was the certain professor's "new" summation of the Confucianist-Legalist struggle and his "new" creation of thus citing antiquity to discuss the present and to establish an uninterrupted link for the Confucianist-Legalist struggle from antiquity to the present.

Here this certain professor again adopted the method of abstract deductions which bourgeois scholars are in the habit of using. He dropped the class content of stress the present, not the past, and stress the past and not the present as a topic of historical outlook, and gave the form of universality to the struggle between stress the present and not the past, and stress the past and not the present, of different eras, different classes, and different spheres. His purpose was nothing more than to provide a new foundation for his assertion that the Confucianist-Legalist struggle extended from antiquity right to the present. He also asserted in his speech: "In history there is the Confucianist-Legalist struggle; how can this be denied?" "If someone wanted to deny the need for the study of Confucianist-Legalist struggle with the argument that there is no Confucius today." "There is a modern Confucius today." Thus he intended to slander Vice Premier Deng as a kind of "modern Confucius." He also said: "To negate the Confucianist-Legalist struggle means to negate class struggle." [words illegible] This amounts to a voluntary confession that the mean attempt to extend the Confucianist-Legalist struggle into the present and into the party is through and through an action to serve the "gang of four" in their attempts to usurp party and state.

Another indication of how this certain professor turns about at the orders of the "gang of four" is how he continuously changes the features of Confucius and how he uses Confucius, this historical corpse, as a kind of brick to throw at people. In 1973 he painted Confucius as a "lustful person." In 1974 he transformed Confucius into a "politician" who tried to "gain a high government position by the back door" through Lady Nanzi. By 1975 and 1976 this certain professor again made Confucius a target of attacks that, by insinuation, were to hit our beloved Premier Zhou, Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping, and the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries.

The summer of 1976 was not an ordinary summer. The "gang of four" was taking advantage of the death of Premier Zhou and the serious illness of Chairman Mao to accelerate their criminal moves to usurp party and state. At that time the certain professor in Guangdong courageously traveled south,



sick as he was and disregarding his doctor's advice, to give some exceptional performances in Hunan and Guangdong at two consecutive meetings. In his "lecture" in Guangdong, which lasted over 5 hours, he ostensibly talked about "learning a little philosophy," but from sentiments expressed to actual speech, from its counterrevolutionary content to the mean trickery it contained, he followed in the footsteps of the "gang of four," and in doing so reached the peak of perfection.

After Premier Zhou's death, all the party, all the armed forces and all the people felt boundless grief, which appeared to the "gang of four" as cause for extreme anxiety and a hateful thing. In a sinister article entitled "Sorrow Over Confucius" the mouthpiece of the "gang of four" insanely shouted out: "Let the professional wailing women of the old society embrace the skeleton of Confucius, burn themselves up with sorrow, and lament to heaven and earth!" Thus they brazenly gave vent to their deep-rooted hatred for Premier Zhou and for the broad revolutionary masses in their grievous mourning for their Premier. As to the certain professor, he used the phrase "Only with death does his course stop" as a topic to talk a lot of nonsense and continue his mad insults and vicious attacks on Premier Zhou. He said: "Confucius said, 'Only with death does his course stop,' but I say he died and that was not the end of him. Why do I say that? If a man dies, is that not the end of him? It was indeed not the end of him! He had not accomplished the restoration of the slave system; it is now left to his disciples to gradually and slowly work to accomplish the restoration!" He also said: 'Only with death does his course stop'; nothing but death could stop him! You see how stubbornly persistent he was. He was very stubborn, right to the end." Was that still in criticism of Confucius? Of course not. Confucius never said, "Only with death does his course stop." These were the words of Zeng Can, one of the disciples of Confucius. If this professor seized upon such phrases as "Only with death does his course stop," and "Not even death brings the end of him," to write long articles about them, he shows a complete conformity with the "gang of four," who used phrases like "even if he has become nothing but ashes, he must be criticized," and "even if he is already dead, he must be criticized." This slavish dependence on the "gang of four" and these detestable criminal attacks by innuendo against Premier Zhou will have everybody pointing an accusing finger at the perpetrators!

The professor said Confucius propounded three great "rectifications." His most important rectification was to "restrain oneself and restore the rites." "Music had decayed; that was where another rectification was due." "The rise and destruction of countries, the continuity and extinction of the family, the nomination to office and the retirement of people, the correct definition of terms--these were the main topics of other rectifications." To talk of Confucius as the founder a precursor of all "rectifications" is the great "contribution" made by this certain professor to the body of citing examples of history to attack personalities today by innuendo. Intending to do some writing on "rectification," the "gang of four" searched through all the classics but merely found that the scholar Sima Guang of the Song Dynasty

had dealt with "rectifications." Kang Li also found the phrase "all the universe was rectified" in a poem by Huang Tingjian and wrote a long article about it, and immensely proud of himself said, "The article, in subject and content, was full of clever points." The certain professor in Guangdong went so far as to state bluntly that Confucius "personally wanted to institute rectification for the purpose of restoring the slave system." In this respect the "gang of four" and its hired stooges were left far behind by the professor.

This nonsensical way of bringing Confucius together with "rectifications" had as its purpose the forcible establishment of a link between the proletarian revolutionary, our Comrade Deng Xiaoping, and the chief proponent of the slave system, Confucius. This has a deep political background.

The summer of that year when the "lectures" were let out of the bag was just the height of the "gang of four's" criticism of the so-called "three poisonous weeds." Just at that time the slogan "Rectification amounts to restoration" was put forth with an ulterior and ominous counterrevolutionary purpose. When Comrade Deng Xiaoping assumed charge of the central government, he set forth, according to Chairman Mao's instruction, his intention of carrying out "rectifications" in such areas as party, military, industry, agriculture, science and technology, the arts and education--his target being the political and economic scene which the "gang of four" had left in complete shambles. He adopted absolutely necessary, extremely timely, and entirely correct measures. "Rectification" is a severe blow against the perverse activities of the "gang of four" and against the outrages of their counterrevolutionary sabotage. It stands to reason that it received the support and praise of the entire nation. The "gang of four" feared rectification and therefore, to no one's surprise, vilified and attacked all rectification.

The certain professor, blinded by lust for gain, had only the one fear of not working hard enough in the service of the "gang of four," and he certainly went all out to add his voice to their counterrevolutionary chorus. After talking glibly about the various "rectifications" of Confucius, he followed up by madly attacking and slandering the "rectifications" set forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping. He added all kinds of ferocious attacks and slanderous insults against Vice Premier Deng. The certain professor thought the "gang of four" had sufficiently consolidated their empire, and his mind was all set to play up to the people in power and influence. The sentiment of wishing to establish his merit and solicit his reward was undating all his utterances. The professor falsified history, influenced public opinion, and engaged in scheming and malicious tricks, thus showing that he had indeed gone far on the road of faithful and arduous service to the "gang of four."

For several years and on several occasions the certain professor had been criticizing: "Guangdong Province has one shortcoming: it does not follow the central government close enough; it often lags behind or follows very late. Shanghai is different; there they closely follow the central government.

In this respect we cannot compare ourselves with them. Let us make an effort to catch up." Listening to his words and looking at his deeds, "in this respect" he was at least talking and acting to the point. He not only "followed closely" and "caught up" with the sinking ship of the "gang of four," in many ways he was even more malicious and diabolic than such servile scribes of the "gang of four" as Liang Xiao, Luo Siding, and the like. Only men who had no compunction about selling their soul or who were intent on bartering away their honor for someone's patronage could possibly outstrip his pace.

In some of his writings, this certain professor had already criticized Confucius and people had gained a correct evaluation. However, he could not stand up to the test of the twisting and turning revolution. He slid from opposing Confucius to opposing the party, and finally he went down, swallowed up by the powerful storm and huge wave of class struggle and line struggle. This is a lesson of profound significance, providing food for deep thought.

Men who make fun of history will in the end be chastized by history. This is what happened to the certain professor in Guangdong. This is the dialectic of history.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### LIN ZEXU'S PLACE IN HISTORY REVIEWED

Guangzhou XUESHU YANJIU [ACADEMIC RESEARCH] in Chinese No 1, 20 May 78  
pp 112-122

[Article by Chen Shenglin [7115 0524 9036]: "On Lin Zexu's Place in History"]

[Excerpts] Introduction

Lin Zexu's most important and most glorious life work was achieved during the time of the Opium War, but the "citing examples of history to attack personalities today by innuendo" of the "gang of four" fabricated something they called "the struggle between Confucianists and Legalists during the period of the Opium War," and transformed the beginning stage of our nation's democratic revolution, the struggle between Lin Zexu and the capitulationist clique, into a struggle of those who "upheld the Legalists and opposed Confucianism" against those who would "uphold Confucianism and oppose Legalism," thereby completely misrepresenting the history of our nation's democratic revolution and distorting the true historical position of the Opium War and Lin Zexu. This really amounts to trampling underfoot Marxism-Leninism and Mac Zedong Thought, and it means trampling underfoot history and the science of history; we must reveal history in its true colors.

#### The First Man to Raise the Anti-Imperialist Banner

It is actually very clear what occurred in history: Lin Zexu's illustrious name has not been linked with anything like "the struggle between Confucianists and Legalists," but has been very closely linked with the Chinese people's struggle opposing the forcible introduction of opium by Great Britain. The first relief on the Memorial to the People's Heroes which stands high on Tiananmen Square is a magnificent picture of the burning of opium at Humen, which was directed by Lin Zexu in those days; it is the historical record of the first great action by the Chinese people of resolutely resisting imperialist aggression. Our



nation's democratic revolution may be counted as having started with Lin Zexu because of his leading and firmly persisting in the righteous struggle against the opium aggression by Great Britain.

Why was it possible for Lin Zexu at this important turning point in China's history, so critical for the future fate of the Chinese nation, to raise the banner of resistance against aggression and capitulationism and to lead and firmly persist in this righteous struggle?

Judging from the real situation in China in those days, the historical reasons and the driving force which urged on and moved Lin Zexu in his prohibition of opium and his resistance against Great Britain was Western capitalist aggression, by its having aroused the resistance of the Chinese people and the will and action of the Chinese people to engage in a protracted struggle for national independence. Lin Zexu's attitude in dealing with Western capitalist aggression was fundamentally identical with that of the masses. His attitude in dealing with the masses was distinctly different from that of the decadent clique around the Manchu throne. These two factors enabled him, stimulated by the natural crisis, urged on, supported, and encouraged by the masses, to lead the struggle of opium suppression and of resistance against Great Britain and to firmly persist in waging an uncompromising war against the aggressors and against the capitulationist clique. At almost every critical moment in the struggle he always had to undergo rigorous tests, making him the first great patriot in modern China.

After having for a time won over the support of Emperor Daoguang, Lin Zexu stood the most rigorous tests under extremely dangerous and difficult conditions.

At the time he was ordered to take charge in Guangzhou, Mi-zhang-a and Qi-shan threatened him: "Don't you start a border quarrel." But Lin was firmly determined "to eradicate this monstrous disaster from the plains of China" and resolved "to disregard personal consequences entirely, whether fame and fortune or misfortune and humiliation." His confidence was greatly strengthened by the huge demonstration of thousands of people at Guangzhou to fight back against the British and American opium peddlers. He warned the aggressors that if they would resist the handing over of the opium, he would "call up able-bodied men among the people, more than enough in numbers to have you all by the throat." Thus he unswervingly led the first great victorious fight against the British opium aggression.

When the aggressors provoked incidents, killing Chinese and refusing to hand over the culprits and sign bonds of nonrepetition, and even carried out armed provocations and threatened war, Lin Zexu, inspiring awe by upholding justice, returned a tooth for a tooth. When war was mentioned in an interview with reporters of the CHINESE REPOSITORY, his



only answer was: "We are not afraid of war." Because of the support of the masses, the high morale and military preparedness, victories were achieved during the second half of 1839 in the defensive fighting at Jiulong and Chuanbi-Guanyong. In the first half of 1840, combat successes were repeatedly achieved by setting enemy ships on fire at Changshawan, Modaoyang, and other places. Lin also "announced awards for the seizure or destruction of British ships and for the capture or killing of British officers and soldiers." As a result the British bandits were unable to have it all their way in Guangdong Province. Just as Fan Wenlan had said, these measures were terrifying to most of those in power at that time, but Lin saw them as the most reliable force. The spokesman for imperialism, Matheson, and his clique attacked their "barbarous and murderous moves," but even they could not help admitting that these antiaggression measures were "faithfully echoing the mood of the people."

Although Lin Zexu considered making use of the masses as a measure "appropriate according to the circumstances," the national problem had emerged as the main problem of the time. The Manchu Dynasty ruling China had decayed beyond redemption, and the antiaggression struggle of the masses, with the working people as the main body, were still at a phase of the struggle where they were urging on and supporting those sections of the landlord class that were firmly persisting in the struggle. Under these historical conditions it was indeed possible for those sections of the landlord class that were resisting the foreign aggression, in particular Lin Zexu, representative of firm resistance, to "temporarily unite with the masses to carry on the national struggle in opposition to imperialism." They could furthermore call on "all citizens" to rise in defense of the country and of home. This was voicing to a high degree the desires and hopes of the masses, representing the interests of the nation, and it indicated that at that critical moment Lin was raising high the banner of the anti-imperialist struggle.

For this reason the masses approved of and highly praised Lin Zexu. Later, when the news of Lin Zexu's dismissal reached Guangzhou, the people of Guangzhou were shocked and enraged. Indignation ran high and "filled every street and alley." Patriotic men of the gentry and merchant class voiced support of Lin with laudatory tablets with words like "The People Benefited From His Favors; the Enemy Feared His Might." All were opposed to the way the Manchu Emperor acted contrary to what was just and right.

Admittedly, Lin Zexu's struggle could not prevent China from falling into the abyss of semicolonialism, his ideology also showed wide differences with the anti-imperialist, antifeudal ideology of the masses, he was unable to understand the true substance of Western imperialist aggression against China and its influence on Chinese society, and he was therefore even less able to understand the nature of the Chinese national revolution that was beginning at that time.

However, by raising the banner of anti-imperialism at this time of the budding national revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, Lin Zexu was writing the first glorious page in the glorious records of the Chinese people's struggle against imperialism and its running dogs. Chairman Mao pointed out that our nation's democratic revolution "is to be reckoned as having started with Lin Zexu," speaking highly of him as an outstanding personality of his time, and that is the most important point. For many years the "gang of four" had forbidden the showing of the film "Lin Zexu;" they did not permit propagating the true patriotic deeds of resistance against imperialist aggression, thereby showing themselves as the faithful running dogs of socialist imperialism and imperialism.

#### Pioneer in the Quest for Independence, Prosperity and Strength of Our Fatherland

That Lin Zexu deserves to be considered a great patriot of modern China is justified by the fact that under the precondition of not disturbing the basic interests of his class, he dared to disclose and demand reforms in the defective government, protect and support the development of the national economy, actively planned and determinedly built up the national defense and military technology in order to resist Western imperialist aggression in his quest for the independence, prosperity, and strength of his fatherland. In this respect he reflected to a certain degree the desires and hopes of the Chinese people. These desires and hopes were at that time still mainly expressed, intensely and in various forms, by those patriotic intellectuals who had a better insight in things and who held reformist and modernizationist ideas (that is, progressively inclined, enlightened literati), by the landlord-merchants who represented the budding elements of our country's capitalists (that is, the so-called "merchant population"). They also influenced Lin Zexu and stirred him to action, and in differing degrees he became their representative and thereby a pioneer of the reform movement in modern China.

Lin Zexu was very much a man "who sought truth based on objective facts, not swayed by temporary trends." At a very early date he had established contact with certain friends who held reformist and modernizationist ideas, exposing and castigating the ugly features of officialdom, gradually also directing attention to the highest ruling clique at the Manchu Court, which reflected the entire decadent system. He paid no regard to the censure by Emperor Daoguang in his continued opposition to the extortion of excessive taxes and levies, and he persisted in his demands for reform of the corrupt government system, to "grant the people a respite to recover their strength." He exposed the true reasons for the anti-opium suppression party to resist the strictest suppression, namely their coveting bribes to enrich themselves illegally. He also exposed the treacherous workings of the

capitulationist clique around Qishan in that they wanted "to slacken the warlike temper, to relax morale, to embolden villainous thinking and to disregard the country's dignity," even to "establish cordial relations, as another alternative" with the aggressors. In his relations to Emperor Daoguang, Lin went from advising to doubting, to despairing, and finally to being infuriated. When Daoguang suddenly issued a decree to stop confiscating opium and opium-smoking utensils, Lin gave to consider, "If we abandon these measures, may I ask what other methods we do have?" He forcefully pleaded "not to make a sudden change in the overall situation." On being unjustly rebuked and censured by Daoguang, Lin stated: "I cannot but fear the might of Heaven, but I cannot possibly plead guilty to any offense or crime." He bitterly denounced the capitulationist clique for spreading the false and fraudulent idea that "the foreign military attacks were brought on by the prohibition of opium." After Daoguang had dismissed him, he furthermore let it be known that now people like himself and Guan Tianpei "for the time being had nowhere to appeal for the redress of injustice," and had possible become "persons doomed to death." When Daoguang later again gave an indication that he wanted to offer resistance to the British and asked Lin to stay on in Guangdong Province to "assist in barbarian affairs," and also intimated that he had "decided never to waver in his decision to resist the British," Lin Zexu expressed his grave doubts: "Really no wavering, is this not hard to imagine?" When Daoguang decided to turn the people's eyes away from the Nanjing Peace Agreement--trying to save the commander in chief by sacrificing carriages and horses--arresting and holding responsible one of his followers, Niu Jingtang, [3662 6975 1016] [sic] Lin Zexu pointedly stated: "Niu Jingtang's request for a peace agreement has already been approved and enacted," now going back again and making a scapegoat of him, "this back and forth is really hard to understand!" Be that as it may, Lin did not dare, and also could not, separate himself from this Emperor; his sharpest criticism was expressed only in his private letters. His class character determined that he could not strike a blow at the foundations of the decadent feudal system. In this respect we must not demand too much from him. The reality of it was that "no matter whether his attacks were motivated by doubts in the feudal system or directed against all evil phenomena, they all had one result: they shook and shattered the feudal rule, they convinced the people that this rule was doomed to perdition." This evaluation is to the point.

At the same time, Lin Zexu raised many objections to the financial, economic, and trade policies of the Manchu Dynasty, setting forth his own suggestions in this respect. He objected to the way the Manchu throne wanted to solve the financial and monetary crisis by adopting foreign currency as the monetary unit, to the detriment of the merchants. He pointed to opium as the root of all evil. If foreign currency were adopted, the effect would be words illegible. If foreign currency would be in circulation, it would unavoidably "be an obstacle to trade and to

the customs service." Lin also objected to the circulation of foreign currency in the market and among officials and people, as a country should have its own currency, and especially a country's expenses, such as expenses for transporting tribute grain to the capital, "should never be converted to foreign currency units"; otherwise harm would come to our country's financial and monetary independence and self-reliance and to the development of our national economy. For these reasons "to root the evil out at the source, the only thing to do would be to prohibit all use of foreign currency." How to do it? Lin Zexu, after "obtaining advice from older merchants, "sent a memorial to Daoguang that China should mint its own silver currency and establish its own currency system based on silver. Only in this way, he believed, could regular foreign trade with other countries be developed, the silver income of the customs service be increased, and on the other hand the circulation of foreign currency gradually controlled and finally completely stopped, and a healthy financial, monetary and customs system be established. When Western economic influences began to pour into our country, when foreign currency flooded our markets, when ruin threatened the Manchu Dynasty's treasury and its currency circulation, it was Lin Zexu who first proposed the establishment of our country's own currency based on silver. This was a very progressive idea, appropriate to the changed political and economic circumstances, to protect our country's industry and trade, guaranteeing an independent development of our national economy and a bulwark against the economic aggression of Western capitalism.

Later, Lin Zexu disagreed with the Manchu throne when it blamed the merchants and their issuing of "paper money" for the daily rising silver price and threatened to prohibit the issue of this "paper money." Lin Zexu refuted these erroneous theories on the basis of data he had collected in investigations at Suzhou and Hankou. He approved of this "paper money", which had the character of a currency, as something created under the pressure of silver shortage caused by the opium trade of those days and apt to function as "a relief of a shortage felt among the people." "If the paper money were forbidden, it would only aggravate the condition of not being able to make both ends meet!" He concluded that "paper money is no obstacle," and admonished Daoguang to give serious attention to "the welfare of the people and strictly enforce the prohibition of opium."

At the time Lin was suppressing opium and resisting the British at Guangzhou, he disagreed with the befuddled and indiscriminate ways of the Manchu Emperor, but in the interest of developing independent and self-reliant foreign trade he followed an integrated policy of strictly enforcing toward foreign merchants the prohibition of trading in opium but also permitting ordinary trade. His proclamation read: "Those who respect the law are welcome to come; those who defy the law must go." "Anyone who repents will be allowed to reform." "Foreign



merchants who respect the law will be able not only to count on complete safety but also on redoubled favorable treatment." At the same time he repeatedly opposed the Manchu throne's unrealistic measure of closing the customs service and blockading the sea, because these measures would cause the foreign merchants to change to smuggling, and "this would result in useless losses in customs revenue and not help stop up the financial deficit." Furthermore, he strongly emphasized that "the huge profits that would be made by the barbarian merchants would arouse the envy of the Chinese and make their mouths water." Lin openly told Daoguang, based on "the talk of the marketplace," that the Chinese merchants, barred by regulations from visiting foreign countries, "must leave the big profits to the barbarians!" He implicitly communicated the enlightened idea that Chinese merchants should go abroad to trade. In those days these implicit expressions were very courageous and also very progressive.

Especially his strong patriotism made Lin Zexu feel grave concern about the decrepit military establishment and the backwardness in the military state of the Manchu Dynasty. In order to strengthen the national defenses he [words illegible]. He urged Daoguang to "untiringly" get to know "the barbarian nature," to continue to resist the British, and to use the customs revenue to manufacture cannon and build ships. He urged to strive vigorously "in manufacturing cannon to make them powerful, in constructing ships to make them strong." These demands were the reformist proposals to establish a modern national defense industry to "control the barbarians," which Daoguang called "all one piece of nonsense" but which Lin Zexu firmly upheld as a matter of greatest importance for the fate of the nation.

After Lin Zexu moved to Zhejiang Province, with resistance to foreign aggression and to gun practice. The technique of manufacturing guns, on which he had gathered data and which he had studied while at Guangzhou, as well as the plans for eight different warships, he handed on to men like Gong Zhenlin and Wang Shaohai. He induced Gong Zhenlin to construct a new type of warship that "frightened the British," to invent--30 years ahead of Europe--an iron mold for the manufacture of guns and to construct a milling machine for heavy guns. All this forced the Westerners to acknowledge that China was a country that had a comparatively high technology.

This military and political insight of Lin in relying on patriotic officers and men and the Chinese people for building up a modern national defense industry (ships and guns) and a modern navy was exceptional and outstanding among the ruling class of his days. But then came the grievous news of the heroic death of Chen Huacheng, which extremely saddened Lin Zexu!



We, the Chinese nation, will fight our enemy to the last drop of our blood. Not even in their dreams will our patriots forget the sound of war drums calling for the destruction of the enemy. The inventions and creations of Gong Zhenlin, the "righteous courage that crowns human relations" of Chen Husheng demonstrate that Lin Zexu's proposals are not beyond human ability to achieve. The strangulation of the Chinese people's intelligence and ability by the decadent clique around the Manchu throne, their sabotage of the modernization of our national defense, their willingly allowing "a blaze of treachery to consume the country," brought long periods of defeat for our country! If today we read Zexu's writings filled with grief and indignation and his accusations "burning with anxiety," and bring this together with the crimes of the detestable "gang of four," their reckless sabotage of our country's four modernizations, then, we ask, where did they want to lead our country? Are they in any way different from the traitors of those days? Is this all not very clear! Under the historical conditions of those days, Lin Zexu planned and strove for the independence, prosperity, and strength of our fatherland and furthermore "left out of consideration his personal fortune or misfortune, life or death." Today we have the superior socialist system and we have the leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by our wise leader Chairman Hua. We must therefore fight even more indefatigably to change the backwardness of our country's economic and technological condition to build our country up into a strong socialist country!

#### Forerunner of "Learning From the West"

Lin Zexu deserves to be considered the first great patriot of modern China. To resist Western capitalist aggression and strive for national independence, prosperity, and strength, he demonstrated extreme courage, starting with his "cutting off the sources of opium," then bursting out of the "prison walls" of the "celestial dynasty" to open the eyes to the world, and seeking from the Western countries the knowledge to "control the barbarians."

After Lin Zexu had been placed in charge of Guangdong Province, he tried by every means to inform himself of the conditions of the enemy and of foreign affairs. Apart from personally investigating and having others conduct investigations on his behalf, he employed four men proficient in the English language to engage in large-scale translations of foreign books and newspapers. This was Lin's most important way of widening his views of the world; it was the first enterprise in our country's modern history to translate foreign books and newspapers on a large scale.

Lin Zexu also took advantage of the foreigners living at Guangzhou or visiting Guangzhou to inquire from them, personally or through emissaries of conditions abroad, or to have foreign writings translated.

Facts have proved that Lin Zexu, acting in this way, not only increased available knowledge but had also the greatest effect in the anti-aggression struggle of those days.

In his struggle to suppress opium, he realized that there were people in England and America who condemned the opium trade. Although he did not know their background and character, he felt he could exploit this contradiction, and as a result he always upheld the policy of combining the suppression of the opium trade with a promotion of regular trade. He persisted in the struggle to have undertakings signed that would safeguard Chinese sovereignty, and would "feature as examples" those British and American merchants who would formally sign such undertakings. At the same time he would have British and American travelers spread the news of China's righteous policy, demonstrating thereby that "he held no hatred toward the British people and that he merely hated those who engaged in the opium trade" and his firm determination to fight for the "extinction of the opium calamity." He repeatedly explained this also in his communications to the English Queen, so that even foreign critics who had criticized Chinese officialdom for being completely ignorant of foreign matters recognized "that Lin was completely different from that in his actions."

In the military conflict Lin Zexu was fairly aware of the enemy's movements and could estimate fairly accurately the relative strength of his own and the enemy's forces; therefore he evaded the enemy's superior strength and attacked weak points. He used sailors and fireships "and such means feared by the enemy to bring them under control." He furthermore, according to intelligence, attacked the British "head on." In good time he reported to the Manchu throne and advised all provinces along the ocean to prevent the British forces from attacking Tianjing. Based on "available news from the barbarians," he explained the difficult situation of the British troops at Dinghai and their unfavorable international conditions at the time, and exploiting these conditions, Lin Zexu independently struck at the British aggressors in Guangdong Province. Exploiting in particular the contradictions between the British and the Portuguese, Lin smashed the plot of the British to occupy Macao and establish a base there. He also assured the neutrality of the Portuguese, and in the fighting at Guanzha he could "indeed act on the assertion that both sides would not take notice of each other." At the same time Lin Zexu also paid full attention to the fact that the enemy had "strong ships and powerful cannons" in their favor. He made great efforts to understand and adopt advanced foreign technology so as to improve and raise the level of armament and equipment of the Manchu army and increase their defensive capacity.

When adopting advanced foreign technology, Lin Zexu would also give attention to integrating Chinese and Western technologies. While he,

together with Gong Zhenlin, was studying the construction of a warship according to European models, he also adopted the treadwheel method of the Song Dynasty and came up with a warship that integrated Chinese and Western methods--a surprise and a fright to the British. Apart from that, in the field of flood control he collected and kept the "Taixi Shuifa" [Methods of Water Conservancy in Western Countries], which introduces foreign experiences. In the field of medicine he valued highly the medical heritage of his fatherland, but he also did not overlook advantages of Western medicine. He suffered from hernia and once indirectly asked the American doctor Bo-jia [transliteration] for treatment by Western medical methods. He kept in mind and studied carefully the way they kept the secret of their art to themselves whenever "Chinese went to the barbarian houses for medical treatment." He believed, "The medical art of the barbarians was superior to domestic medicine, because when a man died of illness they would open up the inner organs of the corpse and examine the reasons why medical treatment had failed." From the anatomy side he gave an affirmative appraisal of Western medicine.

Lin Zexu tried to gain an understanding of almost everything. He handed the "Si-zhou-zhi" [Record of Four Continents] to Wei Yuan to extend it into a "Hai-guo-tu-zhi" [Illustrated Records of Maritime Countries]. In his preface Wei Yuan explains: "What is the purpose of this book? It is to beat the barbarians with barbarian means, to take care of barbarians the barbarian way; it is to learn the superior techniques of the barbarians in order to keep them under control." This obviously reflects the ideas of Lin Zexu. He wanted eyes to be opened up to the world ("gather information on barbarian conditions"), to study the advanced technologies of the West ("learn the superior techniques of the barbarians"), which in those days was all very progressive. It must be particularly appreciated that his purpose was to resist aggression ("resist the barbarians") and to strive for the independence, prosperity, and strength of the fatherland ("intentions for the remote future"). In modern Chinese history, just as Chairman Mao pointed out, "There were Chinese, bent on progress, who were reading any kind of book as long as it was on the new Western principles and ideas." One may consider all this "new science," including the social science theories of those days and the natural sciences, "were possibly quite helpful in bringing about the rescue of China." Hong Xiuquan, Kang Youwei, Yan Fu, and Sun Yatsen represent such "progressive Chinese who had sought truth in Western methods and ideas before the advent of the Communist Party, and Lin Zexu must be counted as the first man to act as their "initiator, pioneer, and precursor." Although his understanding of the West was still very superficial and immature, it fulfilled the need of historical development. He broke out of the restricted area of the "celestial dynasty," created a new atmosphere, set forth new themes, and moved the progressively inclined among the feudal literati toward an improved understanding of the

world. He stimulated later generations of patriotic intellectuals and progressive personalities to learn from the West the truth that could save the country and save the people. The struggle between new science and old science, between Western science and Chinese science, is a composite part of the past democratic revolution. Since Lin Zexu was the first to voice the need to learn from the West, he thereby became the initiator of the promotion of Western studies in modern China and a pioneer of the new learning.

At that time, the decadent Manchu Dynasty imprisoned and restrained its own brain and field of vision. It did not see, and absolutely refused to see, anything superior in anything connected with the foreigners. It absurdly overestimated itself and would not permit progressive Chinese to learn from the West to change the backwardness of the country. However, when foreign capitalism began to invade China, they were absurdly belittling themselves, bending their knees in submission and allowing China to be trampled upon. This lesson was an extremely painful one. To review the Opium War, this chapter in our history, allows us to see with greater clarity how preposterous, to what a sinister and ruthless degree it was that the "gang of four" slandered the study from the West as "a philosophy of enslavement to foreigners."

#### Summary

Chairman Mao pointed out that those who want to save China today believe that "to save China all that is necessary is modernization, and to achieve modernization all that is needed is learning from foreign countries." This idea is reflected in Lin Zexu's ideas.

He wanted to save the country and was aspiring to protect the country's sovereignty and the nation's independence, but his patriotic ideals did not become reality.

He wanted to save the country by modernization, by learning from the West, and he very much wanted to develop the national economy and build up modern defenses, but his desires and hopes of independence, prosperity, and strength for the fatherland could also not be realized.

This was because the decadent Manchu dynasty had no more spirit to bestir itself; it was willing to become the running dog of imperialism to gain a precarious peace. As a result and in the end, in all this time starting from the Opium War, almost every large, medium, and small imperialist country of the world invaded us and beat us; they all signed treaties with the Manchu government which infringed on our sovereignty and humiliated the nation. Chairman Mao summed up these 100 years of our country's historical experience and pointed out scientifically: In the past our country has been beaten and defeated over a long period of time. "The reason for this was, first, that our social system was decadent, and second, that our economy and technology was backward."



To sum up the reasons for the 100 years of disaster since the Opium War, to establish the historical significance of Lin Zexu, is, just as Lenin said in his memorial speech for Hertzen, not to deliver a conventional eulogy, but to elucidate the task of the proletariat and to elucidate the true historical position of this historical personality.

The "gang of four" willfully forged and blocked Chairman Mao's scientific exposes. At one time they unreasonably prohibited the showing of the patriotic and traditionally educational film "Lin Zexu." At one time they vainly attempted to use Lin Zexu as a cudgel in their movement against the so-called "big modern Confucianists." They fully displayed their counterrevolutionary nature in their pragmatist, antiscientist nature and in their reflex history of "making the past serve the present!" Under the wise leadership of Chairman Hua, Chairman Mao's scientific exposes on Lin Zexu were published and made available to the world in Volume 5 of "Mao Zedong Xuanji" [Selected Works of Mao Zedong]. This is a powerful refutation of the "gang of four!" Today, under the wise leadership of the CCP Central Committee headed by Chairman Hua, [passage illegible].

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## PARTY AND STATE

### PROSPERITY OF FARMERS IN PRC DEFENDED

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 19 Mar 79 p 3

[Article By Jiang Yingguang [5592 2503 0342]: "Is Prosperity Equivalent to Capitalism?"]

[Text] To work to achieve socialism and yet to be afraid that the farmers will become prosperous is a strange matter. Still, in many places in China's rural villages, especially among comrades in leadership work, this strange phenomenon definitely exists. Why do the cadres of a production brigade burn several ten's of thousands of jin of straw that has been cut by commune members? Why do the cadres of certain production brigades command large batches of peach trees grown on private plots of commune members to be chopped down? Why do some areas institute a "poverty transition system," and eliminate the private plots and the collective market trade in the rural villages? A major reason is that many cadres are afraid that the farmers will become prosperous. In their view, prosperity is equivalent to capitalism. People by no means should ever become prosperous.

Is prosperity equivalent to capitalism? Of course, capitalists are prosperous. We often speak of "millionnaires" (prosperous old men) and "multi-millionnaires." Do not these terms have the character for "prosperous" in them? American "financial consortiums" and Japanese "financial lords"—are these not connected with the character for "prosperous"? But prosperity is not equivalent to capitalism. In the olden days, the emperors had prosperous empires, but they were not capitalists. People also call the landlords "prosperous old people"; but the landlords and the capitalists are two different classes. Actually in regard to the prosperity (or wealth) of capitalists, we should make a concrete and historical analysis. Marx once said, the capitalist class' struggle to gain class control was for less than 100 years; but the productive power it created was greater and larger than the total of that created throughout the ages. At the time, the "wealth" created by the capitalists was "progressive." The reason why we oppose the capitalists is not because of the wealth they created, but because every "pore" of their capital was soaked with the blood and sweat of the laboring class. At the same time because, following the development of productive power, the contradiction between the socialized production that capitalism already had, and the

productive materials that were privately possessed, became sharper and sharper; and the productive relationship of capitalism restrained the development of productive power and hindered the prosperity of members of the entire society. Thus, when we oppose the capitalist system, we are not simply opposing prosperity, but we are opposing the social system of capitalism in which people exploit other people and restrain the greater development of productive power.

Some comrades are afraid that the farmers will become prosperous, and when they see the farmers with a little money, they say it is "capitalism." This kind of money even from the capitalist viewpoint does not jive with the basic principles of Marxism. In order to engage in capitalist exploitation, of course one must have a certain amount of money. How can a penniless pauper engage in exploitation? But, money is not equivalent to capitalism. Money in political economic theory is called cash. Cash is the thing which develops the exchange of commodities. Cash existed much earlier than capitalism. When the exchange of commodities developed to a certain stage, it was necessary to use cash as a medium. Thus this cash is not equivalent to capital. Cash, in order to be changed into capital, must have two prerequisites: One is that the workers have no means of production and no means of livelihood; and one is labor power is turned into commodities. Capitalists use their cash to procure the means of production and labor power. From the market after returning to the factory to carry out capitalist production, the workers in the process of production create surplus value. After this surplus value through the sale of commodities actually becomes cash, it enters into the pockets of the capitalists. Only under such conditions does cash become capital. Thus we cannot simply say that money is capital, and we cannot simply consider that money is the prerequisite of capitalist exploitation. In a socialist society, because of individual labor, a little money is gained and placed in the hands of a farmer, but he does not thereby engage in capitalist exploitation. How can this be said to be capitalism?

Some comrades are very much afraid of the farmers selling things in the collective market. When they see that the price of the things sold by the farmer in the collective market is a little high, they say this is high-price selling, and this is capitalism. This is not right. The farmers take something gained by their own labor, and after mutual negotiation in the collective market, they sell it for some extra money. This cannot be called "high-price" selling, and also cannot be called capitalism. Just when at present in China under conditions of low price for the sale of agricultural produce, something may be considered a relatively "high price"; yet under many other conditions, it actually cannot be considered a high price. Secondly, this kind of "high price" under the guidance of national price standards, with both parties agreeing to the transaction, is actually a negotiated price and is legal. Besides, in the collective market, the prices of subsidiary goods are controlled by the laws of value, and one cannot just ask for any price. Thirdly, even if there appeared some unreasonably high prices, they would have been mainly created by erroneous methods due to certain areas blindly eliminating the collective market trade. If these inappropriate limitations on the collective market trade

were done away with, there would naturally not be any such high prices. To repeat, the things that are sold by the farmers in the collective markets are generally sold because there are buyers. They sell their own surplus things, and buy the things they themselves need. This is simply an exchange of commodities, not an exchange of capitalist commodities. Substantively speaking, this is basically not capitalism. So why is there fear of this? And what reason is there for prohibiting it?

Some comrades connect prosperity with the new bourgeois elements that have just arisen. When they see someone a little more prosperous, they give him the name of the "sudden rich." Actually prosperity is not the origin of classes that arise, and poverty is certainly not the means to eliminate classes. Marxism tells us, class is connected with the level of the development of productive power. The very low level of productive power of the early commune period could not produce classes. The arising of classes must have as a prerequisite a definite development of productive power; but this is not the cause of classes arising. The direct cause of classes arising is the system of private property. At the same time, the existence of classes is also connected with the insufficient development of productive power. Only if productive power has great development can classes be eliminated. In some areas black market transactions are very prevalent and speculation is very rampant, so that the result is that productive power often suffers serious setbacks. If these bourgeois activities are to be prevented from spreading, the most fundamental method is to develop productive power greatly so that farmers can become prosperous. Thus to hate capitalism and be afraid that the farmers will become prosperous is like hating drunkenness and imbibing strong wines.

"There can only be collective prosperity, and not individual prosperity." This is still taking individual prosperity to mean capitalism, and thus to make diametrically opposing theses of individual prosperity and collective prosperity.

To say that "there cannot be individual prosperity" is to oppose the commune members planting economic crops that bring comparatively large incomes; it is to oppose commune members engaging in sidelines with a little extra income. Can we consider this kind of "individual prosperity" to be capitalism? We cannot. Take the planting of sugar cane by commune members in their private plots, for instance. Sugar cane is the raw material from which sugar is obtained through crushing. If we plant more sugar cane, we produce more sugar, which can supply the market and reduce imports of sugar, saving foreign exchange for the nation. If commune members plant sugar cane themselves, they can increase their income and meet the nation's needs. It is beneficial to the nation and to the individual. To allow commune members to grow sugar cane is also to benefit the collective body. In the past, some places did not allow commune members to grow sugar cane. Commune members thus lacked money to buy cooking oil and to buy salt, forcing the people to go elsewhere for ready cash. Those left at home also did not contentedly engage in collective production, thus causing many households to overspend and get advances from the collectives and adversely affecting collective production. Now with a change in this method, commune members are encouraged to grow economic crops



on their private plots. The individual incomes of the commune members have increased, and they contentedly engage in collective production, so that large amounts of labor power that went elsewhere have returned, and overspending and advanced spending have been reduced, so collective production has been developing. Some places even help commune members solve the difficulty of planting economic crops, and resolve the contradiction between planting on private plots and the collectives fighting for labor power and fighting for fertilizer, so that collective production and commune members on their private plots do business very well.

These facts show that by allowing the commune members to have a little bit of freedom, it is not only not detrimental to the collective body, but rather it is of great benefit. Thus giving a bit of freedom to the commune members not only should be allowed, but should be promoted. To make the excuse of "not being able to plug up the road to capitalism is not to be able to march ahead on the road to socialism"; to restrict commune members from planting economic crops on their private plots and adjacent gardens; to restrict commune members from engaging in side-lines at home and not allowing the increase of individual incomes--all these methods are erroneous.

"Only the nation can be prosperous; the farmers are not to be prosperous"--this is to make discordant tunes of national prosperity and the prosperity of the farmers. Under the guidance of this kind of erroneous thinking, some places are everywhere stretching out their hands to the farmers, and are everywhere limiting the farmers. The amounts are great and the prices low for the farmers' produce purchased, and the quality is inferior and prices high for industrial products supplied. They do not respect the system of collective property, and arbitrarily interfere with the autonomy of production brigades. They process plenty of grain, but don't get to eat much. They have much income, but do not divide it up. When the production brigade chops down trees, they can only sell them to the state, but cannot use them to make utensils to sell. The production brigades can only plant grains, but cannot engage in multiple enterprises. They can only engage in low-income agricultural subsidiary enterprises, but cannot engage in high-income agricultural subsidiary enterprises. The result of doing things this way is that the state takes too much from the farmers; and the broad masses of farmers can only increase production, but cannot increase their incomes. Some even decrease their incomes. This is essentially a kind of exploitation of the farmers. If the income of the farmers becomes greater, their positive spirit in production will be higher, and agricultural enterprises will become more developed. Only thus can industry become developed, the nation's income become increased on a large scale, and the nation become truly prosperous. The history of China and other countries from ancient to modern times proves that there have never been farmers prosperous without the state becoming prosperous; and there has never been a state which was prosperous and strong when the farmers were poor and agriculture was not developed. To make the state prosperous, we should think of every way to make our farmers prosperous. For the production brigade to engage in reasonable enterprises, increase production, lower costs, and increase incomes is not a tendency toward capitalism, but is a manifestation of talent for enterprise which should be encouraged. "Only the state can



be prosperous; the farmers are not to be prosperous" is a kind of backward theory. Even Confucius said, "When people are satisfied, how can the sovereign not be satisfied?" Xunzi [Hsun-tzu] also said, "When those below are poor, those above are also poor; when those below are prosperous, those above are also prosperous"; and "Wealth should be stored among the people." Even though the "people" they speak of was not referring to the laboring people who were exploited, they still admitted that the prosperity of the people and the prosperity of the nation were not antithetical. On the other hand, some legalists opposed the prosperity of the people. For example, Shang Yang advocated that "Households should not accumulate maize."

As early as more than 40 years ago, Stalin criticized the confused thinking of those who were afraid of farmers becoming prosperous. He pointed out that: "When there were capitalist elements and poor people exploited by the capitalists, the Leninists relied on the poor people. But when the capitalist elements were defeated and the poor people were released from their exploitation, the Leninists' task was not to strengthen and preserve the phenomenon of poverty and poor people whose existence was eliminated, but was to eliminate poverty and raise the level of the livelihood of the poor people to that of prosperity and abundance." "Socialism is not for everyone to be poor, but is for the elimination of poverty, for everyone in society to establish an abundant and civilized life." "If we think that socialism can be built on the foundation of poverty and on the foundation of reducing individual needs and lowering the living standards of the people to the living standards of the poor people--that is stupid. The poor people themselves do not want to be poor anymore, but want to strive to live an abundant and prosperous life. Who needs this kind of so-called socialism?" (Stalin's Collected Works, v. 13, pp. 316, 318) Is it not worth learning from this criticism by Stalin of this kind of confused opinion reflected among the "left wing"?

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## PARTY AND STATE

### MARXIST, PRAGMATIST 'CRITERIA OF PRACTICE' DIFFERENTIATED

Beijing ZHEXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 25 Mar 79  
pp 21-24

[Article by Chen Xiuzhai 7115 0208 7822 : "Draw a Distinct Line between the 'Criterion of Practice' of Marxism and that of 'Pragmatism'"]

[Text] In his letter to Comrade Li Da dated 28 December 1954, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "When criticizing pragmatism, we should compare the pragmatic use and the result of pragmatism with the generally similar terms we used and explain the difference, because ordinary people may confuse them." This is a very important directive, not only because of its significance as guidance in clearly distinguishing Marxist from pragmatist principles and in correctly and pointedly criticizing pragmatism, but also because of its important role in setting things right, clarifying the theoretical questions of right and wrong—which have been confused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four"—in deepening the criticism of their reactionary views, and in mastering and propagating Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought comprehensively.

Since pragmatism and Marxism use "generally similar terms," it is often easy to "foist fish eyes on others as pearls." This is one of the special features of pragmatism. Here, let us look at this special feature on the questions of "practice" and "practice as the sole criterion for testing truth."

As everyone knows, practice is highly regarded in Marxism, because "the standpoint of practice is the primary and basic standpoint in the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 261). Practice, as we might say, is also highly regarded in pragmatism. Lenin pointed out: "'Pragmatism' comes from the Greek word 'pragma'—action, that is, a philosophy of action.... It acclaims experience and only experience; recognizes practice as the only criterion; refers to the positivist movements in general;...for the belief that science is not an 'absolute copy of reality' and...successfully deduces from all this a god for practical purposes, and only for practical purposes..." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 349). "Pragmatism could actually be called the 'doctrine of practice.'" In a chapter on "The Pragmatic Method," in his book "The Way of Knowing," Montague, an American bourgeois philosopher and a new realist,

dwelt at great length on "pragmatism as a doctrine of practice." Because Marx and the pragmatist Dewey both stressed the importance of practice in a certain sense, Russell, another famous bourgeois philosopher, confused the doctrines of these two persons. In his article "Dewey's New Logic" (carried in "The Philosophy of Dewey," edited by Schilpp, 1951, New York, pp 135-156), he talked about Dewey's "instrumentalism" as a means of "inquiry." He pointed out "the close similarity of Dr Dewey's doctrine to that of another former Hegelian, Karl Marx." Then he proceeded to quote items 1, 2 and 11 dealing with "practice" in Marx's "Theses on Fierbich" to illustrate his point, and said: "Allowing for a certain difference of phraseology, this doctrine is essentially indistinguishable from instrumentalism." This is probably Russell's "favorite" viewpoint, because it has appeared more than once in his works. For instance, in his "Freedom and Organization," published in 1934, he expounded a similar view. From this, we can see that the "generally similar terms talked about" have been "confused" not only by "ordinary people" but even by such a famous philosopher as Russell. Whether this "confusion" by Russell, like his mistake in calling Marx "a former Hegelian," was incidental or deliberate is another question which I do not intend to discuss here. By bringing up Russell's thesis, I am only trying to further prove the seriousness of the "confusion" which actually exists in the meaning of certain terms used in Marxism and pragmatism. Thus there is an imperative need for us "to compare and explain" in order to clarify the situation. This is particularly important because Lin Biao and the "gang of four" also took advantage of this "confusion" and flaunted the Marxist banner as a cover for their pragmatism, which has brought about incalculable damage and grave consequences. Since its pernicious influence has not yet been wiped out, it is all the more necessary to eliminate the confusion and to draw a clear line of demarcation between Marxism and pragmatism.

Is it true that Marxist doctrines on practice are "indistinguishable" from Dewey's "instrumentalism" or any other brand of pragmatist doctrine, as claimed by Russell? This is certainly nonsense. Between these two there is not only a strict difference but also a mutual antagonism. This antagonism lies in the fact that Marxist doctrines on practice rest on a foundation of materialist theory of reflection, while pragmatism uses subjective idealist empirism as its theoretical foundation. Because of this antagonism in the basic viewpoints on the world outlook and the theory of knowledge, the real meaning of the "generally similar terms" used by Marxism and pragmatism are also basically different and mutually antagonistic.

As everyone knows, Marxist philosophy is dialectical materialism, and its theory of knowledge is a revolutionary dynamic theory of reflection. As a materialist theory of reflection, it is based on a recognition of the objective world and the laws of its development which exist outside and independently of men's consciousness. Any view which violates this basic materialist stand can certainly not be a Marxist view. However, Marxism is different from the old passive materialist theory of reflection, because Marxism incorporates the viewpoint of social practice into the theory of knowledge and affirms the process of human knowledge of the objective world as a constantly deepening and developing process of revealing in a dynamic way the essence and laws of objective matters on the foundation of practice. Therefore, it is a revolutionary, dynamic theory of reflection.

On the contrary, the philosophy of pragmatism is subjective idealist empiricism, which is diametrically opposed to the materialist theory of reflection. William James, one of the grand masters of pragmatism, called his own world outlook "radical empiricism," which is nothing more than a carbon copy of the idealism of Berkeley and Hume. James himself openly admitted this when he said: "My empiricism is essentially a mosaic philosophy...like that of Hume and his descendents." (*Essays on Radical Empiricism*, 1922, New York, p 42). He held that his own empiricism was even more "radical" than Hume's, because "it gets rid of the whole agnostic controversy by refusing to entertain the hypothesis of transempirical reality at all." (*Ibid*, p 195). Dewey, another noted representative of pragmatism, called his own philosophy "empirical naturalism" or "naturalistic theory of experience." (*"Experience and Nature," Commercial Press, 1960, p 1*). This philosophy aims at an "empirical entity" through a "continuity between experience with nature." Regardless of the many tricks used, this doctrine denies the independent existence of the natural world outside men's "experience" or consciousness by treating "nature" as "experience." Thus, the empiricism advocated by pragmatism rejects the objective existence of the source of experience and becomes subjective idealist empiricism by enasculating the objective content of experience.

Since Marxist doctrine on practice is founded on a dialectical materialistic, revolutionary and dynamic theory of reflection, its assertion that "only people's social practice can be a criterion for people to know truth in the external world" means that, in judging whether or not some knowledge constitutes truth, it is necessary to test it through social practice to see if it corresponds with reality or with the laws of the objective external world. The passage in "On Practice" by Comrade Mao Zedong about social practice as the sole criterion of truth clearly illustrates this point. He said: "What actually happens is that man's knowledge is verified only when he achieves the anticipated results in the process of social practice (material production, class struggle, or scientific experiment). If a man wants to succeed in his work--that is, to achieve the anticipated results--he must bring his ideas into correspondence with the laws of the objective external world; if they do not correspond, he will fail in his practice." He added: "The truth of any knowledge or theory is determined not by subjective feelings, but by objective results in social practice."

On the contrary, pragmatism uses subjective idealist empiricism as its theoretical foundation. Therefore, even though, as Lenin pointed out, it also "holds that practice is the sole criterion," this practice is strikingly different in meaning from the kind of practice affirmed by Marxism as the sole criterion of testing truth. The difference lies primarily in the fact that the practice affirmed by Marxism is the practice of millions upon millions of people engaged in the struggle for production, class struggle, and scientific experiment and other social practices. This practice is an objective process independent of any single individual's consciousness. The practice advocated by pragmatism refers mainly to the practice of individual daily life. Pragmatists sum up everything as subjective experience, or the so-called practice, which is after all only certain elements of individual subjective experience instead of an objective process which is independent of the individual consciousness. More important still, pragmatism recognizes only subjective experience and rejects objective reality, or what it calls



"transempirical reality," meaning that the practice it recognizes can only serve as a subjective, not as an objective, criterion. Speaking of the concept of truth, James said in his book "Pragmatism": "According to Messrs Schiller and Dewey, ideas (which themselves are but parts of our experience) become true only insofar as they help us to get into a satisfactory relationship with other parts of our experience.... Any idea which enables us to satisfactorily link one experience to another and associate satisfactorily different matters in an effective, simple and energy-saving manner can be considered as a truthful idea; and the truthfulness of the idea lies in the point and this point only, that is proving that the idea is an effective tool." (see "Selected Modern Bourgeois Philosophical Works," Commercial Press, 1964, p 151).

Regardless of the many arguments advanced by James, Dewey, and other pragmatists, their real concept of truth can take a simple title: "Utility Means Truth." Although under certain circumstances they had to agree that their so-called concept of truth refers to "reality" and "correspondence," they always qualified their agreement with various lame arguments to distort and adulterate the significance of "reality" and "correspondence." According to their subjective idealist empirism, while "refusing to entertain any transempirical reality at all," the so-called "reality" is not that kind of objective reality outside the realm of consciousness, but a certain kind of subjective experience, or "the other parts of experience." Thus the concept of truth, or truth itself, does not mean the correspondence of subjective knowledge with objective reality, but only that of "one part of experience" with "another part of experience," or, in other words, "linking things satisfactorily."

After all, according to pragmatism, any knowledge or concept can constitute truth as long as it is an effective or useful instrument. Thus, if we say that pragmatism also "recognizes practice as the sole criterion," it does not mean the correspondence of certain knowledge with the laws governing the objective external world as proved by the criterion of people's social practice, but some satisfactory results or usefulness discovered through certain knowledge or concept based on individual practice in daily life.

Therefore, as James clearly stated in his "Pragmatism": "Her (pragmatism's--author) only test of probable truth is what works best in the way of leading us, what fits best in every part of life and combines with the collectivity of experience's demands, nothing being omitted. If theological ideas should do this, if the notion of God, in particular, should prove to do it, how could pragmatism possibly deny God's existence? She could see no meaning in treating as 'not true' a notion that was pragmatically so successful" (see "Selected Modern Bourgeois Philosophical Works," Commercial Press, 1964, p 154). This was how pragmatism "successfully deduced from all God for practical purposes, and only practical purposes...." In other words, regardless of any figments of the imagination, pragmatists will give them the beautiful name of "truth" as long as they are "pragmatically successful" or useful to the practice of an individual or his group or class in daily life. What a far cry this is from the practice affirmed by Marx as the sole criterion for testing truth!

Lin Biao, the "gang of four" and their company were originally counter-revolutionaries who had wormed their way into the party. They are also the deadly enemies of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. However, the tactic used by them all along was to display the banner of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in order to oppose it. They took over revolutionary slogans, distorting and adulterating them to serve their secret plans and their counterrevolutionary purposes. In essence, they positively opposed social practice as the criterion to test truth, because their reactionary fallacy could not stand the test of social practice. In fact, their clamor about "every sentence is the truth," "carry out what you understand as well as what you do not understand," meant the propagation of "quotation criterion," "authority criterion," or the "criterion of the superior's will," all of which are basically opposed to the criterion of practice. However, since they had to pretend to be "holding" "most, most, most high" and "closely following," they had to, under certain circumstances and in a certain sense, show their high regard for practice, or even to recognize practice as the criterion for testing truth. Whenever there was an opportunity, they would resort to their devilish tricks of pragmatic "confusion." Sometimes they also flaunted the banner of "following social practice" while concocting their so-called "new changes of class relations" fallacy, on the basis of which they created the myth that the "bourgeoisie has appeared in the party"--which in turn enabled them to put forward the counterrevolutionary political program that "veteran cadres are democrats and democrats are capitalist roaders." They even flaunted the banner of "developing Marxist theories" according to "social practice," in order to peddle such sinister wares as "the fourth milestone" and "Zhang Chunqiao Thought." Now the true practice of millions upon millions of people has proved that their sinister wares are only their subjective illusion and "a part" of their "subjective experience." However, no subjective experience can substitute for objective reality, no matter whose experience it may be. Although the myth that "bourgeoisie has appeared in the party" may for a while be "so pragmatically successful" for their purpose of usurping party and state leadership, and although they seemed to possess very "effective instruments" like "God's existence," which James regarded as "pragmatically successful," it cannot be truth but only the theological notion of "God's existence." Therefore, should Lin Biao, the "gang of four," and company talk about "practice" or recognize "practice as the criterion for testing truth," then it is quite true that their doctrine would be indistinguishable from pragmatism or "instrumentalism," but diametrically opposed to Marxist doctrines.

Thus the study of Comrade Mao Zedong's directive as contained in his letter to Comrade Li Da, and the endeavor to draw a clear line of demarcation between the Marxist and the pragmatist "criteria of practice," are of great significance in eliminating the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and in correctly understanding and mastering the principle that "practice is the sole criterion for testing truth."

## PARTY AND STATE

### HOW ENGELS DEVOTED HIS LATE YEARS TO WRITING BIOGRAPHIES OF MARX

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pp 53-61

[Article by Wang Xingbin [3769 5281 2430]: "A Model of Devotion to the Work of Revolutionary History--The Achievements of Engels in the Writing of Biographies of Marx and His Comrades-in-Arms in His Late Years"]

[Text] On 14 March 1883, the creator of scientific communism and the great teacher of the international proletariat, Karl Marx, passed from this world. On the evening of that day, Engels wrote a letter to William Liebknecht in which he said, "Even though I saw him lying on his bed this evening, his countenance never moving, I can still not bring myself to believe that this great intellect of genius will never again use his powerful thought to nourish the proletarian movement of the two hemispheres. We should give credit to him for what we have today; for all of the accomplishments of the movement in our present age we should give credit to his theoretical and practical activities. Without him, we would still be wandering in darkness." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 35, p 457)

Marx studied history, studied nature, studied the proletarian revolution and created mankind's most revolutionary and most advanced scientific theory. Under the guidance of this theory, the international proletariat, without regard for the butcher's knives, the leather whips and the curses of the reactionaries and without regard for the sabotage, agitation and clamor of traitors and strikebreakers, has bravely struggled ahead, those in front advancing and those behind pressing on. When the first programmatic document of scientific communism, "The Communist Manifesto," appeared, very few people responded to it. At the time Marx died, it had become the common guide to battle of the hundreds of millions of the propertyless from the wilds of Siberia to the gold mines of California. The communist organization had developed from a small band of exiles to a socialist workers party encompassing the nations of Europe and America. How much toil on the part of Marx and his comrades-in-arms was coalesced into and

how much blood of the pioneers of the revolution flowed into the history of this magnificent and impressive revolutionary enterprise. Because of the destructive efforts of the reactionaries, as time went by and as Marx and his comrades-in-arms died, the numbers of older comrades who understood and had a thorough knowledge of this history grew fewer and fewer. On 15 March, Engels wrote a letter to George F. Baker in which he expressed his unhappy feelings about this, saying, "Now we two are almost the last of the army that existed before 1848." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 35, p 457)

At this time, Engels was also over 60. It was his deep feeling that he should record the facts of the struggles of Marx and his comrades-in-arms in our gallant enterprise in order to drive away the clouds of obscurity that the bourgeoisie and their running dogs had spread over the international workers movement and to hand down the glorious tradition and valuable experiences of these pioneers which were forged in battles of fire and blood. This he felt to be an obligation from which he could not retreat. After he had completed the arrangements for Marx's funeral, he immediately decided to write a biography of Marx and made plans for writing about the workers in the history of the international workers movement. In April 1883, in a letter to George Baker, Engels mentioned making preparations to take a year to write the biography of Marx and that he also wanted to write a history of the German Socialist movement and an international history for the period of 1843-1863 (1864-1872). ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 36, p 20)

Engels did this not only because of his deep longing for Marx but also because it was a pressing necessity of the struggle at that time. Engels, in his address at Marx' tomb had pointed out, "Marx was one of the most hated and vilified men of his age. The governments of all countries, regardless of whether they were dictatorships or republics, expelled him. Capitalists, whether they were members of the conservative faction or of the extreme democratic factions, all vied with each other to slander him and to curse him." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 19, p 376)

Between April and May 1883, Engels first wrote the two articles, "The Funeral Rites of Karl Marx" and "The Death of Karl Marx," in which he described for the whole world how Marx became ill and died as well as his funeral service. He also reported the grief of the members of the proletariat and of the socialist parties of the nations of Europe and the Americas over the circumstances of Marx and denounced the rumors and slanders of opportunist elements and reactionary elements. On the eve of the tenth anniversary of the death of Marx, Engels especially wrote a brief biography entitled, "Marx, Karl Heinrich" in which he described the major events in the life of Marx and listed his major writings. Engels believed that Marx' biography was a history of the "Neue rheinische Zeitung" and of the movements in the Rhine region from 1848 to 1849 and that it was also a history of the troublesome life of exile in London



1849 to 1852 and that it was international history. ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 36, pp 27-27)

Engels combined his research on the history of the international workers movement with the work of writing the biography of Marx and with his work of compiling and editing the writings of Marx. The books, articles and letters that Marx wrote during these periods are the most direct and most reliable historical documents reflecting and recording the class struggle and the class line at that time. Collecting, putting into order and publishing the writings of Marx served to lay down a firm foundation for research on and writing about the biography of Marx and the history of the international workers movement and furnished the most reliable firsthand data. Beginning in April of 1883, at the same time that Engels proposed writing the biography of Marx and the history of the international workers movement, he started to consider publishing the complete works of Marx and set about putting the writings of Marx into order. He spent several months in Marx' library looking through and putting into order the voluminous collection of manuscripts, letters, notes, articles, newspapers and magazines that Marx had left. When he saw that Marx had kept large amounts of manuscripts and letters, including all of his manuscripts prior to 1848 and every one of the letters of Marx' father in 1837, he was extremely happy and said, "These are superb materials for writing the biography." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 36, p 27) After that, he incessantly wrote letters to old comrades and old friends in such places as Berlin, New York, Switzerland and Petersburg, asking them to make a wide-ranging search for writings and manuscripts of Marx in libraries, old periodicals and in the homes of friends of Marx. In the early nineties, after he had basically completed the work of editing and compiling the second and third volumes of Das Kapital, Engels set to work on publishing the complete works of Marx and on the work of writing the biography of Marx. In June 1891, he seriously announced, "Publishing the complete works (of Marx) is my duty for the future." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 38, p 120) In December 1894, in a letter to Marx' daughter Laura, he said that he was in the process of overcoming various difficulties, that he had collected the early writings of Marx and that he was preparing to write the biography of Marx. In April 1895, he once again stated, "I have a plan--to compile the short essays of Marx and myself in the form of a complete collection and reissue them to the reader." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 446)

In the process of doing research on history, Engels directed his attention toward combining the general with key points, placing particular emphasis on studying and writing about the major stages in the life history of Marx and the major events in the history of the international communist movement. Marx created a confederation of communists who took part in the activities of the revolution of 1848. This was a key point to which Engels directed his research. Not long after the confederation was established, under the leadership of Marx and Engels, it entered into the

revolutionary scene of 1848 that was engulfing all of Europe. The revolutionary program, line and strategy that Marx and Engels proposed as representatives of the confederation and their subsequent scientific summary of this revolution were further developments of the theory of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat state in "The Communist Manifesto." This was the first time in the history of the development of Marxism that this scientific concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and the battle slogan of "continual revolution" had been raised. In a series of articles including "Marx and the Neue Rheinische Zeitung," which was written in commemoration of the first anniversary of the death of Marx, "A Preface to 'Karl Marx Before the Cologne Jury and Court'" (July 1885), "On the History of Confederation of Communists" (October 1885), "The May Uprising of 1849" (November 1885) and "Fragments of Memories of 1848" (April 1893), Engels looked back on the history of this glorious period in the youth of the international workers movement, glorifying the highly successful combat techniques of Marx in the revolutionary period. He said that Marx was a "first class leader" of the confederation of communists. Under the leadership of Marx, the confederation was an excellent school of revolutionary activity in which he accumulated rich revolutionary experience and trained and fostered a large group of core revolutionaries. In discussing the period when Marx was the chief editor of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung, Engels pointed out: "There has been no German newspaper -- either before or after -- that had the power and influence of the Neue Rheinische Zeitung or that was as skilled at arousing the proletarian masses." "It is first and foremost to Marx that the credit for this is due." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 26)

The activities of Marx in creating and leading the International Workers Association was another key point to which Engels devoted his attention in his research. In the course of struggling with the reactionary factions and with varied guises of opportunism in various countries, the International Workers Association furthered the flourishing development of workers movements in various countries, firmly established the leading position of Marxism in the international workers movements and secured the ideological and organizational foundations for creating independent socialist workers parties in Europe and the United States. Marx was the creator and leader of the International Workers Association. Engels wrote out the history of "this most important period of Marx' participation in social activity," making of it "the most important part" of the biography of Marx. ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, pp 427-428) In 1892, Engels, in his article, "Marx, Karl Heinrich," once again stressed the distinguished service of Marx in leading the International Workers Association, pointing out that, on its establishment, Marx firmly took on leadership authority, that almost all of the documents produced by the General Committee were written by Marx and that these documents, and particularly "The Civil War in France," a manifesto summarizing the historical experience of the Paris Commune, propelled the theories of the revolution of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat to a new stage.

Engels repeatedly stressed and carefully discussed these important events in Marx' life and in the history of the international communist movement with a profound intention in mind. Not only did he deliver a pulverizing attack against the slanders and lies of all those who distorted and attacked these two revolutionary organizations, but even more importantly, he taught that the international proletariat must continuously foster the revolutionary traditions of the confederation of communists and of the International Workers Association, that it must keep the experiences and lessons of the revolution of 1848 firmly in mind, that it must maintain the great principles of the Paris Commune and that it must advance steadfastly in accordance with the revolutionary line of Marx. In regard to the German Social Democratic Party, which was at that time under the control of the "Emergency Law Against the Socialist Party," Engels once again pointed out there were "many aspects" of the revolutionary strategy that Marx proposed at that time that "had not yet been applied even today" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 25) and that "they can still serve as examples to some people today" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 235). He hoped that the German party would absorb these historical experiences, overcome the "left" right opportunism in the Party and establish a correct revolutionary strategy.

Engels was Marx' closest comrades-in-arms in the course of his creation of Marxism and his leadership of the international workers movement. Marx proudly said: "Engels, who always stood together with me loyally" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 35, p 233) was a "veritable encyclopedia. Regardless of whether it was day or night and regardless of whether his head was clear or he had been drinking, his capacity for work was very strong at all times and he wrote and thought very quickly." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 28, p 604) Marx constantly obtained the valuable support and encouragement of Engels at times when his struggle was most bitter and when life was most difficult. Like Marx, Engels made everlasting achievements for the benefit of the communist enterprise. However, Engels was incomparably modest. He was always sincere and respectful in his feelings, respecting the great achievements and far-sighted knowledge of Marx and not pushing himself forward. He considered as if he were a famous violinist of the first rank and himself as if he were a violinist of the second rank. When Engels spoke about the history of the creation of Marxist theory in his book, "Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy," he wrote with deep feeling, "Marx stood taller, saw farther, and observed more more quickly than the rest of us. Marx was a genius and we were at best competent workers. Without Marx, our theory could not have reached its present level. Therefore, it is only right that this theory should be named after him." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 336) Whenever the socialist parties and workers and masses of various nations expressed their sincere love and lofty respect for the virtuous and revered Engels, he always said he was only the inheritor of the Marxist enterprise, that by luck reaped the honor that Marx had sown and that the wreaths and offerings of honor should be



laid before the tomb of Marx. In the spring of 1895, the seriously ill Engels, concerned about his work of writing the biography of Marx, stated urgently that, "It has been my great hope for a long time to be able to set about on this work." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 428)

Engels' feelings of respect and love for Marx were also expressed in his sentiments toward the proletarian revolutionaries who struggled with Marx for so long. While these old revolutionaries were alive, Engels was extremely solicitous of them. After they had died, Engels tirelessly published their memoirs and writings.

From the day that Marx and Engels undertook their revolutionary activities, there was a group of loyal revolutionary warriors who steadfastly united around them. In a state of intense fear and without regard to the sabotage of the reactionaries and the ridicule of the stupid and fools, they persisted in studying, transmitting and practicing the great thought of Marx and made indelible contributions to the communist enterprise. Among them were some who sacrificed themselves on smoke-filled battlefields, some who were shut up for long periods in dark sunless prisons and some who suffered deprivations and hardships throughout their lives. Marx and Engels suffered their hardships together with them throughout. After the revolution failed in 1848, when the reactionaries were madly crushing the force of the revolution, Marx thought of working out a method to save them. He said, "Our forces are too weak. Therefore, we should highly prize the talent we now have." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 27, p 604) When the stupid German bourgeoisie wantonly attacked them, Engels enthusiastically commended them. From the fifties to the seventies, the ordeals of persecution and impoverishment forced on them by the reactionaries resulted in the early deaths of many old revolutionaries. Marx said painfully, "We are truly unfortunate - Dannierst,<sup>1</sup> Werfel, Shilamu,<sup>2</sup> Weidemeir,<sup>3</sup> Jibeier,<sup>4</sup> Weierte" have died one after the other. ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 32, p 87) Engels, who also was filled with similar feelings, said, "The ranks of our old comrades are ever dwindling. Weierte, Weidemeir, Lupusi,<sup>5</sup> Shapeier....." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 32, p 478) They at once wanted to write the biographies and publish the memoirs of these "close old warriors." However, in those days of intense and rampant terror, they were largely unable to realize these hopes. All that they could do was bury their deep feelings for their old comrades-in-arms in their hearts.

After Marx died, these "close old warriors" became even fewer in number. The task of publishing their works and writing their biographies fell on the shoulders of Engels. Engels in his late years wrote many essays and letters, recording the glorious and sad events of the struggles of these old revolutionaries with deep emotion and praising them for their lofty qualities of resolute revolutionary spirit and sincerity and firmness.



Yao. Moer (1813-1849) was the first of the group of members of the revolutionary proletariat that Engels became acquainted with. This revolutionary, who was a watchmaker by trade, accepted the revolutionary theory of Marx and Engels at a very early time. In the spring of 1847, as a representative of the League of the Just, he invited Marx and Engels to take part in and guide the work of organizing the League. Moer was one of the key leaders of the Communists League, and, during the revolutionary storm of 1848, he stood by the sides of Marx and Engels and waged a firm struggle against the incorrect lines of the "left" and the right. In June of 1849, at a critical juncture of the revolution, he plunged onto the firing line without hesitation and sacrificed his life heroically in the battle in the Moukeer River valley in the Badeng region. Engels recalled them as "dependable advance warriors who never knew the least fatigue and who were without fear." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 7, p 219) Thirty-five years after Moer had sacrificed his life, when Engels looked back on the history of the Communists League, he placed a high evaluation on his outstanding work in the course of creating the Communists League and studied into the record of his heroic sacrifice, establishing an everlasting monument to him.

Wilhelm Werfel was another of the old warriors that Engels could not forget. This son of a Silesian serf had from the time he was small suffered the hardships of class oppression. In order to strive for the liberation of the masses, he had studied hard and had become an outstanding propagandist and instigator. In the revolution of 1848, he was an important member of the editorial staff of the "New Laien Bao," and his famous work on the peasant problem, "The Ten Hundred Million of Silesia," had stirred a strong reaction in the farming villages of Germany. After the revolution failed, he suffered great hardships and went into exile in Manchester. Even though his body was afflicted with severe illness, he saved on food and clothing, generously supporting the Marx family, which was living in extreme poverty, so that Marx could write "Das Kapital." In his will, he stipulated that his meager savings from teaching be all given to the Marx family. After he died of illness in 1864, Marx immediately wanted to write a biography of him and drew up an outline of it. On the title page of the first edition of "Das Kapital," which was published in 1867, Marx wrote in a serious tone, "I dedicate this to my unforgettable friend and that sincere and lofty advanced proletarian warrior Wilhelm Werfel." In 1867, Engels, referring to the draft outline drawn up by Marx, wrote a detailed biography of Werfel. Later, he also proposed to the German party to republish Werfel's "The Ten Hundred Million of Silesia." He himself wrote a preface to it in which he introduced this splendid historical document that this older revolutionary had handed down, pointing out the great significance that it had in the solving of the peasant problem by the proletarian party.

At the end of 1885, Engels lost another of his old comrades, Xi. Bokehan. In 1849, this old warrior, who had taken up a rifle together with Engels

and had killed the enemy during the Baden-Pfalz Revolt, even though he had been bedridden with paralysis for a long time in his late years, was still optimistic and clear-minded and concerned about the development of the workers movement. From his bed, he wrote about his own reminiscences. In order better to expose the wild scheme of Tsarist Russia to subjugate the Balkans and then indirectly to control Western Europe, he mastered Russian so that he could read Russian documents and periodicals directly. Engels, in an essay in which he presented a brief biographical sketch of him, said, "His major political activity was a struggle against the major support of reactionary power in Europe, i.e., the Russian dictatorship." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 399) In 1887, at the suggestion of Engels, Bokehan's memoir "In Commemoration of the Extreme German Patriots of 1806-1807" in the publications of the "Socialist Democracy Series." In his preface to that book, Engels, echoing the words of Bokehan, presented a thorough explanation of Marxist theory concerning war and revolution and sternly warned the reactionary governments of the countries of Europe that if they stubbornly insisted on stirring up a world war its result would be the general bankruptcy of the capitalist world and that the crowns of kings would fall, creating the conditions for the final victory of the proletariat.

Engels had always had great concern and respect for those of his comrades in the party who engaged in artistic and scientific work. In his late years, he also wrote biographies of outstanding representatives of these walks of life. In May 1883, Engels discovered among the papers left by Marx a draft of a poem entitled "The Song of the Apprentice" by G. Weierte (1822-1856). The draft of this poem brought to his mind a flood of memories about this comrade-in-arms of his with whom he had worked on the editorial board of the "New Laten Bao." In July of 1856, Weierte had drifted into a bay of the Caribbean Sea and had died at sea. Marx was extremely distressed when he heard this news and wanted to write an essay in commemoration of this "eternally unforgettable and rare friend." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 29, p 562). Engels felt that it was up to him to fulfill this aspiration of Marx. Using "The Song of the Apprentice" as an introduction, he immediately wrote a text entitled "Georg Weierte," in which he told of the events of the life and praised the poetry of this "first and most important poet of the German proletariat" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 6). Later, he on many occasions recommended the publication of many of Weierte's superb poems in official journals of the German party so that they could still function as a bugle call to battle.

In late June of 1872, the distinguished member of the German Socialist Democratic Party and celebrated chemist, Karl Xiaolaima, died. Engels hastened from London to Manchester, and, representing the executive committee of the German Party, respectfully presented a wreath. As soon as the funeral ceremony was completed, he at once wrote a eulogy in which he honored Xiaolaima for his lifetime of sincerity, steadfastness and

loyalty to the revolution and in which he praised him for not fearing hardship, his hard work and for his great accomplishments in his scientific work. Up to the time of his own death, Engels wanted to publish the memoirs of Xiaolaima and to compile his biography. On 28 July 1895, he dictated a final letter in which he discussed his opinions about publishing the memoirs of Xiaolaima.

Engels evaluated the merits and faults of old comrades who in the course of history had committed errors, including serious errors, from an historical, comprehensive and dialectical standpoint, thoroughly affirming their historical accomplishments and pointing out in a critical way the causes of their errors so that they might serve as a mirror for the older generation and as a source of instruction for those who come later. His appraisal of K. Shapeier is an outstanding example of this. Shapeier was also a key leader of the Communists League who was frequently imprisoned, who was firm and unyielding in his principles and who was a brave warrior in the revolution of 1848. However, after the revolution had failed, because he had not thoroughly reformed his petty bourgeois ideology, he made incorrect analyses of conditions and failed to come to a correct understanding of the revolutionary strategy of Marx and Engels during the low tide of the revolution. Under the instigation of Weilixi, he organized a small secessionist and adventurist group and committed extremely serious errors. Later, as the result of severe struggle with Marx and Engels and through factual instruction, he finally acknowledged his errors, restored his revolutionary friendship with Marx and Engels and went on to do much outstanding work for the revolution. After Shapeier became ill and died in April 1870, Engels proposed that a commemorative essay should be written in which a proper evaluation should be made of this outstanding representative of this secret activist. Fifteen years later, Engels fulfilled this promise. In his essay, entitled "On the History of the Communists League," he wrote the following moving and profound passage about Shapeier: "He was of great physical stature. He was firm and resolute and always ready to sacrifice his livelihood, his happiness and even his life and was a model of the professional revolutionary who fulfilled a definite function in the thirties. ....His revolutionary enthusiasm at times became dissociated from his intellect. However, he always discovered his own errors after the fact and even publicly acknowledged these errors. He was a pure man and everything that he did in establishing the German workers movement will never be forgotten." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 21, p 243)

The following type of person has often appeared in the history of the international communist movement: In the early stages, this type of person did a great deal of work for the revolution and even fulfilled a definite function. However, because he had not made a thorough reform of his world view, as the revolution progressed, he became low-spirited, falling out of the ranks, and even went so far as to fall and become stumbling blocks on the path of the revolution. Aikaliusi was a person of this sort.



Engels' appraisal of him is a model worthy of study. Aikaliusi was a famous activist in the international workers movement and one of the key leaders of the Communists League and the International Workers Association. Before 1872, he basically stood at the side of Marx and Engels and did a great deal of work. After 1872, because he became filled with ambition and because he was drawn over to and became debased by the British labor aristocracy, he turned against Marx's revolutionary line and became a chief of the reformed faction of the British Labor Union, which had sold itself to the capitalists in exchange for livelihood and protection. Marx and Engels mercilessly disclosed the course of Aikaliusi's betrayal and cut off all relations with him. Engels firmly pointed out that, "I know very clearly that Aikaliusi is a traitor to our cause" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 35, p 203). Nevertheless, Engels viewed his activities during the early stages of the revolution in the light of the actual historical circumstances and evaluated him according to his just share without omitting a word. In his essay, "On the History of the Communists League," Engels affirmed as before that Aikaliusi had fulfilled a positive function in that he had promoted the acceptance of Marxist theory among the leaders of the League of the Just. (See the "Complete Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 21, p 250) Engels held that what he had written under the guidance of Marx in the early stage could still be published. (See the "Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 36, p 399)

Engels' evaluations of these activists were full of warm emotion and were also grave and just, embodying a unity of high revolutionary spirit and rigorous scientific attitude and shining with the glory of historical materialism.

In the history of the early stages of the proletarian revolution, many outstanding revolutionists appeared in Marx's circle. Writers and scientists gave vivid evidence of the great vitality of Marxism and indicated the enlightened greatness of Marx. If it be said that the hundreds of millions of the proletarian masses were a vast land, then these outstanding revolutionists were lofty peaks standing out from this vast land and Marx and his closest comrade-in-arms, Engels, were, among these peaks, even loftier peaks reaching to the heavens.

At the same time that Engels personally studied the history of the workers movement and wrote books and biographies about Marx and his other comrades-in-arms, he also aroused and encouraged other comrades. In particular, he encouraged his old comrades who had been worn down by hardship to engage in these kinds of activities. A vivid example of this was his guidance of Beikeer in writing his moving account of his reminiscences of the revolution.

When Beikeer was a young man, he took part in the progressive activities of opposing the feudal dictatorships of Germany and Switzerland. In the armed revolt of 1849 in southern Germany, this revolutionary, who was a



shoemaker by trade, did an outstanding job of directing the Baden People's Militia and achieved brilliant battle accomplishments. Having been baptized by the storm of the revolution, he grew from being a bourgeois democratic warrior into a self-conscious communist revolutionary. Later, he lived for a long time in Geneva and was a major leader of the Swiss branch of the International Workers Association. In numerous struggles in opposition to opportunism, he was always a loyal comrade-in-arms of Marx and Engels. The resolution passed at the meeting of the International Workers Association in Brussels in 1868 calling for the workers of all nations to study "Das Kapital" (first chapter) was proposed by him.

On the battlefield, Beikeer was a brave warrior skilled in fighting and when he took up the pen he was also an outstanding writer. His book, "A History of the May Revolution of 1849 in Southern Germany," which was written in late 1849, won the respect of Engels. After his memoir, "The Fragmentary Circumstances of My Life," was published in 1876, Engels at once wrote a favorable critique of it. In 1886, Beikeer was an old man of 77 years in age. He did not have any fixed income, and, except for the support he received from Engels and a number of other old friends, he had little choice but to devote most of his time to writing for a newspaper and to rely on the meager earnings from his writings for his livelihood. Thus, he had to give up the writing of his memoirs.

Engels was constantly concerned about this old comrade-in-arms of his. He thought that if Beikeer could write out his memoirs this would be of great educational significance for the party, the proletariat and particularly for the young. In Beikeer's brain was stored more than half a century of the vivid history of the development of the workers movement. In the autumn of 1886, Engels wrote many letters to Beikeer and other leaders of the German party pointing out to them that Beikeer had been of great political and military service in the German and international workers movement. He was the only leader who actually came from among the people, and, politically, he always held firm to a correct line. His "memoirs in themselves would be an extremely valuable publication for the 'People's Bookstore,'<sup>6</sup> and, from the standpoint of history before the establishment of the Party (the revolutionary movement from 1828 to 1860) and of the history of our Party (from the fifties to the present), it would be a new source of data. No true historian could neglect this material. Moreover, this book would be ... an outstanding and vivid true people's reading material. ....If Beikeer does not undertake this work, then the events that occurred during these years will forever be forgotten. Either that, or these events will be written about by people who are hostile to our people's party or by members of other stupid democratic factions and will not be of service to us." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 36, pp 533-534) He asked the German party to provide the old man Beikeer with funds for his living expenses so that he could devote himself to writing and dictating his memoirs. He urged them by saying that this matter should be dealt with as quickly as possible and that if this opportunity were lost it would be like committing a crime.

At the same time, Engels wrote many letters to Beikeer, encouraging him to start writing at once: "It is extremely important that you complete the writing of your memoirs. ....You have an uncommon capacity for narration. In addition, your memories go back some 10 to 15 years earlier than mine, embracing the period from 1830 to 1840. The developments after this period are also extremely important" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 36, p 391). Engels also invited Beikeer to come to London to discuss these matters with him in detail. He gravely and warmly charged Beikeer with taking good care of himself and with the task of writing his memoirs so that he could tell the later generations of the hardships of the older generation. Engels also agreed to put the papers and publications about Beikeer left by Marx into order so that Beikeer could use them in writing his memoirs. Who could have foreseen that this would be the last time they would meet. Just at the time the German party had agreed to Engels' instructions to provide Beikeer with living expenses of 200 francs a year and discussions were underway about publication, the sad news came that he had become ill and died. Engels' deep pain and grief could not be expressed in words.

Engels also hoped that the old revolutionaries and socialists of all nations would come to study the history of the workers movement and write memoirs of the revolution. The Charter Movement in England from the thirties through the fifties during the 19th century was the first broad-scale true mass and political proletarian revolutionary movement in the world. However, by the eighties, Hani, the editor of the official organ of the Charter groups, "The Pole Star," was not able to find a complete set of this newspaper. Engels said, "If Hani does not write his memoirs, the history of the first great workers party will never be handed down" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 36, p 4). In February 1893, he again suggested to Hani that he write a history of the Charter Movement. Engels also expended a great deal of effort in cultivating and encouraging young comrades in engaging in this type of work. As he saw it, having young comrades help old comrades in writing their memoirs was a good method. After the memoirs of F. Liesina, an old member of the Communist League and an old warrior of the International Workers Association, which were entitled "Recollections of a Worker About Karl Marx," were published in March 1893, Engels happily said that this essay read very well and praised the author for his enthusiasm in writing about his recollections. He also said that this essay had an even richer literary flavor because a young writer had taken part in preparing it. In February 1893, a young Russian socialist who wanted to write a biography of Marx asked Engels for data. Engels immediately wrote back to him, providing him with some information about the early activities of Marx. He also told him how to find data and advised him that he should read all of the works of Marx and that he could not rely on extracts of documents. Engels also sent him two studies that Marx and he had written about the Communist League and the International Workers Association. In January 1895, a young socialist in Austria was planning to write an article describing the

activities of Marx in Geneva in 1848. Engels, even though he was extremely busy, went through the entire collection of the "New Laten Bao," which covered more than 40 years, and selected the relevant news items from it, sending it to him in due order. In April, Meilin, an outstanding young theoretician of the German party, wrote a letter to Engels in which he expressed the hope that he could engage in research on the history of the development of socialism under the guidance of Engels. Engels, who was seriously ill, was overcome with joy and immediately replied to encourage him. "As I can clearly see from the evidence in the articles that you have published in New Age and from my recollections of the past, you have done very thorough research on the period before 1848. I am very happy that you are going to undertake research work on this and subsequent periods of German history" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 454). Engels fervently hoped that his young comrades would write outstanding historical works. However, he never allowed anyone to use the writing of history to build himself a reputation. In May 1895, after he discovered from a newspaper advertisement that Bernstein and Kautsky had intentionally gone behind his back and written "A History of the Socialist Movement," he was extremely angry. He wrote a long letter to Kautsky in which he demanded an explanation of them of why they had clandestinely undertaken this task in concealment from him. Drawing blood, he pointed out that, "It appears that you had bad intentions" ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 39, p 460). The subsequent development of events completely substantiated Engels' judgment. Engels had such a sincere heart that he struggled up to the very last breath of his life to defend the purity of Marxist ideology and to defend the glorious battle history of the international proletariat.

On 5 August 1895, a dreadful cancerous disease took Engels' life. Although he was not able to complete a biography of Marx and a complete history of international communism in time, the magnificent example of his painstaking and meticulous work and enthusiastic guidance of research work on the history of the revolution in his late years encouraged many old revolutionary comrades-in-arms and their successors to take up and continue the work that he did not have time enough to complete. It could be said that Buben's "My Life" as well as the famous writings of W. Liebknecht, Lessing, Heine, Zuoerge, LaFarge, Loyola and Ailinna in remembrance of Marx and Engels together with Meilin's "Biography of Marx" and history of the "German Socialist Democratic Party" were continuations of the uncompleted work of Engels. The flood tide of the international communist revolution flows on unceasingly like a rushing river. The great enterprise of the proletarian revolution will be handed down from generation to generation in an unbroken chain. The work of studying the history of revolutionary struggle, of writing the biographies of the leaders of the revolution and of the older generations of proletarian revolutionaries and of collecting and putting into order memoirs of the revolution will go on forever without end. At present, we must in a spirit of seizing the hour do as Engels demanded: "The sooner we get a hold on this matter the better."

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Lodanniersi (1819-1885). Member of the Communist League and a physician by profession. From 1850, he was a committee member of the Cologne Communists League. In 1852, he was a victim of the Cologne Communist Party member incident fabricated by the German reactionary authorities.
2. Kangshilam (1822-1858). Member of the Communists League who joined the revolution in 1848. He was the publisher of the magazines "New Laien Bao" and "Political and Economic Criticism," of which Marx was the editor.
3. Weidemeir (1818-1866). Member of the Communists League who joined the revolution in 1848. After 1851, he lived in exile in the United States, where he took part in the workers movement and Marxist propaganda activities. In 1864, he was the leader of the American branch of the International Workers Association.
4. Ka, Jibeier (1836-1868). German poet who promoted and published the works of Marx and Engels in Germany.
5. Lupusi, i.e., Wilhelm Werfel (1819-1864).
6. A publishing company of the German Socialist Democratic Party in Sulihe.

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## PARTY AND STATE

### DEMOCRACY IN THEORETICAL RESEARCH UPHELD

Beijing ZHIXUE YANJIU [PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 3, 25 Mar 79  
pp 3-8

[Article by Shao Huaze 6730 5478 3419 : "Allow Full Play to Democracy in Theoretical Research"]

[Text] The discussion on the question of the criterion of truth, launched by our journal in May 1978, is a matter of major importance to the destiny and future of our party and state because of its important role in developing democracy, enlightening the mind, and clearing away the oppressive atmosphere in ideological and theoretical spheres resulting from the prolonged restrictions by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." This discussion has penetrated the forbidden areas, which for many years nobody dared to trespass, and has restored the prestige of practice. It has also affirmed the role of practice by millions upon millions of people in determining whether or not a theory or a person's ideas and opinions may constitute truth. Because it has pointed out the truth and greatly helped people emancipate their minds and set things right, this discussion is highly regarded by the Party Central Committee and warmly supported by the masses. It has proved that the undemocratic method of determining the correctness or incorrectness of theoretical articles on the basis of approval by a small number of people or solving theoretical problems according to the "will of a few superiors" can no longer be practicable. This wholesome atmosphere is a prelude to the vigorous development of the party's theoretical research.

The question of democracy in theoretical research is very important. We may say that the nonexistence of democracy means the nonexistence of theoretical research and theoretical propaganda. It would then be impossible to develop Marxism.

Democracy in theoretical research is certainly an integral part of democratic life. True democracy in theoretical research is possible only when the system of democratic centralism has been perfected in the political life of the party and the state and when socialist democracy has been systematized and legalized as a prerequisite. However, theoretical research has special characteristics of its own which must be fully recognized in order that we

may understand why democracy in theoretical research should deserve special attention and be regarded particularly highly.

First, theory comes under the category of thinking or ideology. In handling theoretical problems, just like handling any people's ideological problem or problems of the spiritual world, we must adopt the methods of discussion and reasoning in order to truly develop correct ideas and overcome erroneous ones. Can we adopt the simple method of issuing administrative orders? The answer is no. The opinion that people in power have on theoretical problems does not necessarily constitute truth. The use of administrative pressure to promote one and oppose another theoretical viewpoint seems simple enough, but actually it is very harmful. Even though the theory you want to promote is correct, this method will still fail to produce the desired results. Then how about the method of submission to the majority? This is still impracticable, because sometimes truth is not always on the side of the majority, as frequently shown in history. If at a certain time we accept the majority view as truth and reject the minority view as fallacy, we will not only confuse right and wrong but also suppress the courage of people, particularly the advanced elements, to explore truth. This would also be harmful to theoretical research. Theory itself cannot be a means to test theory. Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. A theoretical viewpoint must undergo a fairly long test before a scientific conclusion can be reached. We usually meet with such a situation in daily life: A certain viewpoint may be judged wrong for a time, but a review after a period of practice may show that it is not wrong, or that it has some element of correctness. On the other hand, a certain theory may seem logical for a time, but repeated tests may prove it to be impractical. Therefore, in dealing with theoretical problems, we cannot come to a hasty conclusion in a flash of enthusiasm. More important still, we must not without justification discard any theoretical work or article as a "poisonous weed" or repudiate it as a fallacy. A full, free discussion should be conducted, and the author should have the liberty of stating his own opinion. Only thus can there be a lively atmosphere for theoretical research; only thus can full scope be given to the ability and enthusiasm of the theoretical workers.

Secondly, theoretical research is exploratory in nature. It is necessary for people to study the realities in various spheres in social history under Marxist guidance in order to discover the laws. It is also necessary for people to conduct a theoretical summation of new problems and new experiences, and put forward new viewpoints and new interpretations. Therefore, theoretical research is a creative work. If people simply repeat established Marxist conclusions, or mechanically copy the phrases from party documents, they cannot be said to be engaged in theoretical research. According to the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge, people's knowledge of the essence of matters involves a process of continuous delving and perfecting. This process is usually a tortuous one because of restrictions from objective as well as subjective factors. Therefore, mistakes of one kind or another are inevitable. A comrade may have good intentions and have tried hard to apply Marxist principles in studying certain problems, yet because of lack of thoroughness in certain respects, he may overlook something or commit

theoretical mistakes. What attitude should be taken toward defects or mistakes of this type? This is a very important question in the development of democracy in theoretical research. Some people refuse to accept the "theory of inevitability" and permit no mistakes. Whenever a mistake occurs, he uses the whip and persecutes. As a result, academic pursuit is stifled and theoretical workers are afraid to think, speak, or act, as though they were "approaching the brink of an abyss or walking on thin ice." Then how can there be any theoretical research to speak of? Another type of people accepts the "theory of inevitability," permits mistakes and the correction of mistakes. As a result, theoretical workers will have the courage to think, to speak and to act, thus infusing vitality into theoretical research for the party and maintaining continued progress. Revolutionary theory is a unity of opposites, and it develops in struggle. Therefore, we must take a serious lesson from our failure and mistakes. In fighting a battle, for example, either victory or defeat can help us understand military laws better. When anyone makes a mistake, it is not enough to simply say "you are wrong," or, worse still, to overstress the person's responsibility. We should carefully find out where the mistake lies and draw our lesson from it in order that he will not take the wrong path in the future. A comrade who has erred on a certain theoretical question should not be completely put down. We must preserve all that is correct while criticizing what is wrong. This is the scientific attitude. "We mustn't create the kind of atmosphere in which people feel that they can't afford to make any mistake, or that once they have made mistakes, the consequences will be terrible and they will never be able to raise their heads again." (Mao Zedong: "Talk at an Enlarged Working Conference Convened by the CCP Central Committee.") If we do not develop democracy, and instead refuse to permit other people's errors, the mind will become rigid or stagnant, and errors will be compounded as a result. On the other hand, giving full play to democracy and permitting errors with a correct attitude will result in a lively atmosphere on the theoretical front, emancipation of minds, and reduction of errors. Numerous facts have confirmed this dialectical law.

Finally, theory is the basis of the formulation of lines, principles, and policies, and has a direct bearing on the overall situation. Therefore, in handling theoretical problems, and particularly in developing democracy, we should exercise more caution and be more meticulous. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is the guiding ideology and theoretical basis of our party. However, in developing our economy, politics, military affairs, sciences, technology, culture, and foreign relations, mere Marxist principles are not enough. We must further develop Marxism in the light of concrete conditions of international and domestic affairs at every stage of development, and formulate realistic and concrete lines, principles, policies, and measures accordingly. How can we do this? One important way is to develop democracy in theoretical research. Lenin clearly pointed out the extreme importance of discussions on theoretical questions to the application and development of Marxism. He said: "We do not regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable; on the contrary, we are convinced that it has only laid the foundation stone of the sciences which socialists must develop in every direction if they wish to keep pace with life. We think that an



independent elaboration of Marxist theory is especially essential for Russian socialists, for this theory provides only general guiding principles which in particular are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia. We should therefore gladly afford space in our paper for articles on theoretical questions, and we invite all comrades openly to discuss controversial points." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 1, pp 203-204). Democratic discussions on theoretical problems, debates on various viewpoints and interpretations, and comparisons among them will enable us to reach a relatively practical and scientific conclusion. Here the element of equality is very important. Without this element, it can only be a discussion in appearance, although essentially it means the freedom to criticize but not the freedom to rebut. Thus, instead of convincing by reasoning, it means convincing by coercion, and the debate becomes a struggle. Then, of course, people cannot freely air their views; nor can they correctly sum up experiences and explore truth. If a heedless attitude is adopted toward an important theoretical problem, if the opinion of a few or of a single person is accepted as final, if anything out of their, or his, mouths are considered conclusive, if such a conclusion is regarded as the ultimate truth which brooks no doubt or debate, this can easily lead to errors, with catastrophic consequences in real struggles. Therefore, allowing full democracy in theoretical research is not only a question of a serious and conscientious attitude on the part of a leader toward theoretical workers, but also an important manifestation of a high degree of responsibility of the party for the people's interests.

Chairman Mao has on many occasions spoken on the question of democracy for theoretical research. Way back in 1956, he put forward the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and letting a hundred schools of thoughts contend." In his article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," he pointed out that this is "the policy for promoting progress in the arts and sciences and a flourishing socialist culture in our land." He also said: "Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in artistic and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled in an oversimplified manner." Comrade Zhou Enlai's democratic style should be an example for us. His talk at a forum on literary and art work and a meeting on scenario writing, held in 1961, not only promoted proletarian theories on literature and art but also offered a Marxist exposition on the question of democracy. This talk is of great significance to our party's theoretical research. He particularly stressed that the creation of a democratic atmosphere should start with the leading cadres, particularly the leading comrade in the Central Committee. He said: "In order to create a democratic atmosphere and change the style of work in literature and art, we must first of all change the style of work of our cadres. To do this, we must first of all change the leading cadres' style of work; and this must start with the few of us." How important and well spoken were these words!

For a long time, however, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" practiced feudal autocracy and exercised fascist dictatorship over the broad masses of cadres and people. The policy of a hundred flowers and a hundred schools was com-



pletely discarded, and democracy for theoretical research was ruthlessly trampled underfoot. As a result, the academic atmosphere was polluted, the party's theoretical research was divested of its vitality, and the development of theoretical talents came to a standstill. Naturally, theory itself became stagnant and backward. Today, if we fail to settle accounts with them for their crimes or to clarify the question of right and wrong around the issue of developing democracy in theoretical research, the progress of theoretical research will be seriously hampered. Below are my views on several questions:

## 1. The Question of Theoretical Research and Political Struggle

Work on the theoretical front is certainly closely related with political struggle. A person engaged in theoretical research and theoretical propaganda does not carry out his work simply for the sake of research and propaganda. Consciously or unconsciously, he is directly or indirectly involved in actual struggles and in serving class interests. Any viewpoint or opinion put forward by a theoretical worker is necessarily governed by his own stand and the objective world. However, we can never equate theoretical questions with political questions on this account. Theories of philosophy and social sciences belong primarily to a branch of science and follow their own laws of development in a relatively detached way. If the method of affixing political labels is used for theoretical research and academic exploration, the result cannot be genuinely scientific. What we demand is unity of the scientific and the party spirit, and not exclusive stress on party spirit. A theory must first of all be scientific and correct in order to serve the practice of struggle by the proletariat and the revolutionary people. On this question, we should have actually opposed two tendencies: the tendency of theoretical research toward isolation from actual struggles, and the tendency of treating theoretical questions simply as political questions. For a long time, however, there has been opposition only against the former, but not the latter. As a result, everything was treated as a political question, while academic and theoretical questions were ignored. This is a salient feature of ultraleftism. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" shouted every day that theory should serve political struggles. In fact, they were using theory to serve their conspiracy of usurping party and state power with the "pen" as their tool to "create public opinion" for their feudal autocracy. Thus theoretical questions became political questions, which, in turn, became questions of the enemy and ourselves. This is their absurd logic. Under such high pressure, there certainly was no democracy in theoretical research to speak of. Here is a typical example: In 1965, alien class element Yao Wenyuan, renegade Jiang Qing, and special agent Zhang Chunqiao jointly concocted the article "On the New Historical Play 'Hai Rui Dismissed From Office.'" Its publication in Shanghai aroused strong opposition among the readers and people in academic circles. The evil intention of this gang to bring about someone's death and their overbearing work style caused public indignation. In reprinting Yao Wenyuan's article, BEIJING RIBAO carried an editor's note pointing out that "for several years, academic circles and literary and art circles have expressed different views on 'Hai Rui Dismissed

From Office' and other articles by Comrade Wu Han," and that there should be "discussions on the difference of views." Is this not perfectly normal? In its "Academic Study" section, RENMIN RIBAO also carried the article along with an editor's note saying: "Our policy is to permit freedom of criticism as well as freedom of rebuttal." And what could be wrong with this? Is it wrong to discuss differences of opinions on a play? If your article constitutes truth, why are you afraid of [counter]criticism and debate? However, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" treated these correct views as evidence of crimes and justifications for using the stick. Although it was quite clear that they substituted political persecution for academic discussion, they still slandered others as substituting so-called academic criticism for serious political struggle. This was the despicable method used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to attack and persecute the broad masses of theoretical workers and to trample on the Marxist theoretical contingent. We must remember this historical lesson, for which we have paid a heavy price. We must be vigilant against and expose people like Yao Wenyuan, who attempted to attain his reactionary political goal by flaunting the banner of "theoretical commentary." On the other hand, we must adopt the policy of "not picking on others' faults, not stigmatizing, and not flaying out at others with a big stick" in conducting discussions or debates on differences of opinion among the people. People's rights to search for the truth must be protected by laws. After all, in dealing with the relationship between theoretical and political questions, we must note the common ground, as well as the differences between them, from the standpoint of seeking truth from facts and making concrete analyses.

## 2. The Question of Power and Truth

Truth comes from practice instead of political power. The practice of millions upon millions of people is the source of revolutionary theories. Therefore, Marxist theoretical work cannot be exclusively undertaken by a small number of persons; it is a task for the whole party. There must be cooperation between theoretical and practical workers and between the leaders and the masses before theories can be developed. Can truth be in the hands of a single person simply because he holds power? Certainly not. If a comrade becomes a leader, enjoys high rank, and holds great power, but has the illusion that truth is in his hands, it can be very dangerous. For one thing, this can breed subjectivism, bureaucracy, and commandism which will develop to such an extent that he will no longer feel the need to participate in social practice. He will gradually lose his flesh-and-blood relationship with the people and become intolerant of any difference of opinion. As a result, he will fail to see truth even though it is right under his nose, and will even mistake fallacy for truth and vice versa all the time. Comrade Mao Zedong always earnestly taught our leading cadres: "Our comrades should take note: Don't live on the power of your office, your high position, or seniority." "What counts here is correctness." "Rely on being correct in solving problems." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 422). A communist should use the power given him by the people to search for, uphold, and defend truth. He must never abuse his power in resisting truth or in blocking its development.

Of course, as leading cadres of the party and the state, and particularly as party leaders representing the people's interests, they stand on a vantage point with a farsighted view. Therefore they occupy an important position and play an important role in theoretical research for the party. However, this does not mean that new theoretical viewpoints and principles can be advanced, and questions of right and wrong decided, by only one or several persons. Nor does it mean that every sentence spoken by a leader should constitute a theory or truth which brooks no further discussion. No leader can be a prophet who "clearly understands all things." In handling problems, particularly important theoretical problems, they must go through a continuous process of thinking and deliberation. Then how can any word out of his mouth become an inviolable law? And why should any mistake or self-contradiction in his judgment be a matter of surprise? However, even such a rudimentary Marxist theory of knowledge has been greatly confused for some time. Lin Biao and the "gang of four" practiced power politics and clamored that "possession of power means possession of everything." Of course, according to their conception of truth, power was reason as well as truth. Taking advantage of the leadership they had usurped in the party and the state, they threw their weight around and abused their power in oppressing the people. Distorting facts at will, they put forward one fallacy after another and called them established "truths." In their view, the people are all puppets with no right to speak on theoretical problems and must kneel before the "truth" in their hands. Worse still, they took advantage of the high prestige of the revolutionary leader among the people and practiced modern superstition in a big way, saying that "every sentence is a truth" and that "every sentence must be followed." They picked up odd quotations from Comrade Mao Zedong to be used as absolute truths, or concocted some absurd viewpoints to be regarded as "the supreme directives." People were forced to "follow what they understand as well as what they do not understand." All theoretical research and theoretical propaganda had to revolve around these directives, or around themselves, actually, and any dissenting voice or any delay in compliance was condemned as a major crime—a crime "against the party, against Chairman Mao, and against Mao Zedong Thought." Comrade Mao Zedong's remarks about a classical novel "Water Margin" was in reply to a teacher, who was reading to him, and asked what the good points of that novel were and how it should be read. There was no insinuation whatsoever in these remarks. However, in a bid to usurp party and state leadership for the "gang of four," Yao Wenyuan arbitrarily played up these remarks, saying: "They are of great and profound significance, not only to the study of classics and to all literary and art works and commentaries, but also to the upholding of Marxism-Leninism by the Chinese proletariat, the poor and lower-middle peasants, and all revolutionary masses now and in the future, and in this and future centuries." Then, in the name of commenting on "Water Margin," the "gang of four" went all out to ferret out the "capitulationist group in the party" and directed the spearhead of their attack against Comrades Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping and many other leading comrades of the party, state, and army. At that time, anyone with dissenting views on the evaluation of "Water Margin" itself, not to speak of views against their political objectives, would be branded as opposing Marxism and upholding revisionism. There was not even a shadow of democracy!



Theoretical research submits only to truth. Before truth, everyone has equal rights to speech. On theoretical questions, people listen only to those with truth on their side, regardless of their rank or the amount of power they wield. Government decrees must be followed, and the program, line, and resolutions of the party must be implemented to ensure the centralized leadership of the party and the state. In theoretical research, however, people must be encouraged to think independently and to explore boldly. People's creativity and labor should be respected, and the policy "blame not the speaker" must be upheld. If, on the other hand, the policy of "what one man says goes" is enforced on all questions, and if everything proceeds from what the book says, let us ponder for a while on what kind of vitality can remain in theoretical search. How then can Marxist theories develop? How can there be any hope for success of the four modernizations?

### 3. The Question of Theoretical Authority and the "Theoretical Club"

Does the proletariat need its own theoretical authority? Certainly. Instead of one or two, we need many of them. Our theoretical authorities on philosophy, economics, history, literature and various fields are not too many but too few. The number of authorities for a party and a state like ours, and for the requirements of our revolution and construction, is quite inadequate. This is just one of the serious evils brought forth by the ultraleftist line of Lin Biao and the "gang of four."

The kind of theoretical authorities we want are not only those who are highly skilled in theory, good at closely integrating universal Marxist truths with concrete realities, and able to provide scientific explanations on real struggles and historical developments; we also want those who have the fine moral characteristics of proletarian scholars. They must consider their theoretical research as part of the party's undertaking. In the interest of the people, they must have the courage to uphold truth and to correct mistakes. They must not sell out their principles for personal benefits. They should contribute to the cause of the party and the people through their theoretical creation, and thus enjoy their prestige among the masses; but instead of feeling head and shoulders above others, they should maintain close contact with the masses and treat others as their equals in academic debates. In the event of success, they should not be content with what they have already achieved or become obsessed with established conclusions. On the contrary, they should listen to the voice of practice, continue to solve new problems, and sum up new experiences to enrich and develop scientific theories. These kinds of authorities are established through long struggles, but are not manmade. They have to be widely recognized by academic circles and the broad masses, but are not self-styled.

However, for a long time some people in our party, like Chen Boda, Zhang Chunqiao, Yao Wenyuan, and that "theorist" who was very intimate with Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, disguised themselves as theoretical authorities, although they were actually a group of feudal-fascist "theoretical clubs" and "theoretical despots." Posing as dominating despots in the theoretical circle, they trampled democracy underfoot, disrupted the legal system, and



openly declared that instead of "letting a hundred flowers blossom," "one single school should prevail." Brandishing their clubs, they attacked people and let loose idealist metaphysics. Facts were distorted, black was called white, passages were quoted out of context to be interpreted in fantastic terms, and people were overthrown at their will. Because of their positions of power and their arrogance, their verdict on any article or book was final. No rebuttal was allowed, and the author concerned would "never be able to raise his head again." They considered themselves the personification of truth, of the party, and of Marxism-Leninism, so that whatever suited their taste was called "fragrant flowers" while others were branded "poisonous weeds." Persecution of scholars became prevalent, and political outrages involving physical or mental torture became unbridled. Nothing short of the death of the victims could satisfy them. In view of the numerous false charges, frame-ups, and wrong decisions, people in academic and theoretical circles and revolutionary people suffered untold misery. Today, we must take full account of their crimes. We must study the conditions under which those people existed and came to power. We must sum up historical experiences and draw our lessons in order to prevent similar people from disrupting the party's theoretical research. We must be able to see through and expose this type of "theoretical clubs" in the event they reappear. This is a research task of very great significance which should be carried out efficiently by our theoretical workers.

At present, the whole party and people of the entire country are striving to accomplish the four modernizations. In our new long march, the task on our theoretical front is quite complex and heavy. No matter whether we are continuing to criticize Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in order to clarify the questions of right and wrong in ideology, theory, and line, whether we are summing up the historical experiences of our revolution and construction, whether we are studying and solving the new problems in the great practice of the four modernizations, we need a vigorous development of theoretical research and we need to encourage theoretical workers to give full play to their wisdom. To accomplish this, we must particularly stress the need to develop democracy in theoretical research and to enliven the atmosphere in the academic and theoretical circles. Now that we have made a good start, let us continue our march along the bright road ahead!

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## PARTY AND STATE

### REEVALUATION OF WESTERNIZATION MOVEMENT PRESENTED

Beijing LISHI YANJIU [HISTORICAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 2, 15 Feb 79  
pp 58-70

[Article by Huang Yifeng [7806 6654 1496] and Jiang Duo [1203 6995]: "Re-evaluation of the Westernization Movement"]

[Text] The Westernization Movement was a question which aroused considerable attention in China's modern history. During the period between 1961 and 1963, we published certain articles in the newspapers and magazines from time to time which offered some comments on this question and which at the time led to some rather enthusiastic discussion and debate in scholarly circles. Today, after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we deeply feel, as we look back and examine the comments we made, the necessity of commenting on this question anew. In addition, the insidious "gang of four," out of their criminal design to usurp the Party and seize power, did their best to engage in their historiography by insinuation, utilizing the Westernization Movement as a pretext to attack the magnificent objectives of the four modernizations and to attack the principal leaders of our Party and state; this makes it even more necessary to clarify the matter. To provide a relevant and pertinent overall appraisal of the Westernization Movement was our goal in studying this question in the past and still is so at the present time. It is our sincere hope that we shall receive the necessary criticisms and corrections from our comrades in this regard.

#### I. Background of the Time Which Produced the Westernization Movement

The Westernization Movement emerged during the 1860's. The overall characteristic of the background at that time was this: China's feudalistic ruling clique, headed by the Qing government and threatened both by internal worries and by external troubles, had already reached the point where it was no longer possible to exercise its rule in the old fashion. To use Li Hongzhang's own feelings as a description, this was "a case of change unprecedented in our history of more than 3,000 years."<sup>1</sup> The Westernization Movement was thrust

<sup>1</sup> Words of Li Hongzhang, quoted indirectly from "Yangwu yundong (Westernization Movement)" historical materials, volume 5, page 119.

to the fore precisely at a time when refusal to change would simply not do under the circumstances.

By the 1860's, China's feudal society, which had lasted for more than 2,000 years, had long been in a declining or even dying period. The feudal government of the Qing Dynasty, headed by the Manchu nationality that had ruled China for more than 200 years, then faced a situation of declining national power and increasing corruption inside the ruling circles. Contradictions between the feudal landlords and the broad ranks of the peasants and between the Han and the Manchu nationalities themselves were both becoming swiftly radicalized. The great Taiping Tianguo Revolution was precisely a product of the aforesaid contradictions, which were becoming increasingly radicalized. This Taiping Tianguo Revolution, which was tinged by a certain color of the modern bourgeois-democratic revolution in general, plus the uprising of the Nian Army in the north, of the Miao Nationality in the southwest, and of the Hui nationality in the northwest--which exerted an influence on the Taiping Tianguo Revolution itself--combined to produce tremors all over China. They shook the foundation of the feudal rule of several thousand years' standing, directly threatened the existence of the Qing government, and thus became a cancerous growth in the very heart of the Qing ruling clique. As Yi Shu, head of the Westernization Faction of the Manchu nationality, said in his memorial to the Throne: "Looking at the situation today, the Longhaired Rebels and the Nian Bandits can be seen conspiring together to put pressure on us; these are murderous transgressions aiming at our very hearts indeed."<sup>1</sup> In point of fact, no reactionary, corrupt ruling class is ever willing to retreat from the stage of history on its own, since "in history, there has never been a case where a dying class automatically withdrew from the position of power."<sup>2</sup> The ruling clique of the Qing government, of course, was no exception. Before the powerful forces of peasant revolution, they were compelled to initiate a Westernization Movement in order to save their own lingering life by making use of foreign soldiers, foreign guns, foreign cannons, and foreign ships to suppress these peasant revolutions. Historical facts are recorded exactly in this manner.

Had ringleaders of the Westernization Faction like Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang, Zou Zongtong, etc., not connived with the foreign soldiers and taken advantage of Western weapons in arming themselves, it would have been impossible to suppress in a short time the heroic and thriving Taiping Tianguo Revolution. The Nian Army under the command of Lai Wenguang attacked and succeeded in killing the Qing general Sengge Linxin, and exterminated Zeng Guoquan's New Hunan Braves. They roamed across China proper and gained boundless prestige.

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<sup>1</sup>"Coubon yiwu shihmo (A Complete Account of the Management of Barbarian Affairs)," The Reign of Xianfong, Volume 71, page 18.

<sup>2</sup>Stalin: "Problems of Leninism," Renmin Publishing Co., 1955 ed., p 305.

If they had not faced Li Hongzhang's fully Western-equipped Hui Army as their match, it would have been equally impossible for them to be suppressed in a short time. Li Hongzhang and his Hui Army were even more dependent on the Westernization Movement in building up their own wherewithal. When, in 1862, Li Hongzhang was ordered to go to the rescue of Shanghai and Jiangsu, he only had an old army of 7,000 men. Through devices such as buying weapons from foreign merchants in Shanghai at high prices and setting up arsenals of his own to produce such weapons by copying the new models thus available, his Hui Army, in a short period of only 3 years, had become by 1865 a reactionary force with Western weapons and substantial strength. As a result, Li Hongzhang's position in the ruling clique of the Qing government became likewise increasingly prestigious and dazzling. On this point, even the Qing government confessed without concealment: "In our conduct of military affairs in recent years, we have searched for, and hired, foreign recruits from England and France and trained them and turned them into audacious fighters. These foreign recruits thus were given the opportunity to ship and use the weapons necessary for victory from their own countride, and at the same time to obtain a high price from us. Our pacified subject Li Hongzhang did not cringe at heavy spending, in the meantime; he looked for, and hired, foreign artisans, set up his own arsenals, and also dispatched relevant personnel to study the weapons production system so as to keep his forces continuously supplied. With the various contingents securing such fine weapons, which were capable of destroying the strongest of fortresses, they conquered and overcame wherever they marched. Rebellious forces south of the Yangtze River were thus eliminated one after another. For this swift achievement, none surpassed the effectiveness of these measures, indeed."<sup>1</sup> This shows that the powerful forces of peasant revolutions constituted the direct cause that compelled the Qing government to initiate the Westernization Movement. It stands to reason that some should have called the Westernization Movement the Qing government's own movement of salvation. In reality, too, the Westernization Movement also actually served to save the Qing government's lingering life and thereby prolong it for a few more scores of years. No wonder they themselves took advantage of this and exaggerated the outcome as their "Tongzhi Revival" period.

In the 1860's, capitalist industrialization had already begun to be realized in the world context. The advanced capitalist countries headed by Britain, through two Opium Wars by which inroads were made, burst open the doors of the secluded, conservative old China and thereby threatened the existence of the Qing government from without. This was the external reason why some people in the ruling circles of the Qing government were forced to change their course and alter their policy by initiating the Westernization Movement. It was clearly pointed out in the "Communist Manifesto": "The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy

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<sup>1</sup> Text of Yi Shu's memorial, quoted from "A Complete Account of the Management of Barbarian Affairs," The Reign of Tongzhi, Volume 25, page 1.



artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls, with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce into their midst what it calls civilization; i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In a word, it creates a world after its own image."<sup>1</sup> The aggression committed against China by countries like Britain and others at the time following precisely the course of launching a three-pronged attack--by their commodities, their cannons, and their opium--so as to force China, voraciously and cruelly, to accept a civilization in their own image. The mouthpiece of the British bourgeoisie, the London TIMES, started to cry out on the eve of perpetrating the Second Opium War: "The expansion of the spirit of British enterprise has already come into conflict with the social structure of a secluded, conservative China. Trivial concerns as to whether this kind of behavior is legitimate and whether that kind of behavior is appropriate need not really be bothered with. A nation like Britain must use means of violence to develop an intercourse with those weak nations that are not good at making progress themselves."<sup>2</sup> It was a most painful process through which the feudal, backward, corrupt and inept rulers of the Qing government were forced to accept the new things proffered by capitalism from without. Nearly 20 years had elapsed between the First Opium War and the Second Opium War. Yet, by the latter time, Emperor Xianfong of the Qing Dynasty was still wrangling narrowmindedly, requiring ministers from foreign countries to prostrate themselves three times and to knock their heads on the ground nine times as a solemn ceremonial form while being received by him, and thereby maintaining the dignity and prestige of the "celestial empire," while on the other hand he seemed not at all concerned about the fact that their troops had in the meantime already forced their way into Tianjin and Beijing. The degree of his stupidity and stubbornness both infuriates and tickles people, indeed. But in the face of the serious lessons of reality, the ringleaders of the Westernization Faction in the ruling circles of the Qing government could not but admit the superior power of the ships and cannons of the foreign countries, could not but acknowledge their own inferiority, and could not but recognize that they had to learn from the foreign countries. Li Hongzhang, in his letter to Zeng Guofan dated 1863, had this to say: "I have had the experience of going to Britain and France to take over and supervise the launching of certain war vessels. As I saw how dexterously their cannons could be handled, how refined and fit their ammunitions proved to be, how polished and shiny were their weapons and instruments, and how valiant and collected were their troops and soldiers, I could not but lament that China has fallen far behind."<sup>3</sup> In his letter to the Foreign Office dated 1864, Li Hongzhang said even more clearly: "It is my opinion that if China wishes to strengthen herself, then nothing

<sup>1</sup> "Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 1, page 275.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted from Fan Wenlan, "Modern History of China," Volume 1, pp 175-176.

<sup>3</sup> "Li wenzong gong quanji (Complete Works of Li Hongzhang)," letters and communications to friends and colleagues section, Volume 2, page 46.

should be more urgent than studying the powerful weapons of the foreign countries. If we wish to study the powerful weapons of the foreign countries, then nothing should be more urgent than searching for the instruments that control the weapons, so that we may follow their methods [in making those instruments] without having to use their personnel as a whole."<sup>1</sup> Zeng Guofan also said: "At present, our gain in engaging the barbarian forces to help our extermination campaigns and thereby reinforce the Dynasty's mandate is but a temporary relief from immediate exigencies. In the future, perpetual benefit can be expected when we learn to adopt the barbarians' expertise in producing our own cannons and vessels."<sup>2</sup> Consequently, it was necessary for them to make up their minds in getting the Westernization Movement started, to learn from the West the techniques for manufacturing cannons and vessels, and thereby consciously as well as inadvertently to adopt the bourgeoisie's modern techniques and methods of production.

During the 1860's, the commodity economy had already become increasingly developed in the womb of China's feudal economy. A foundation had already become established for both civilian-workshop handicraft industries and official handicraft industries, and the beginning of capitalism was being just gradually nurtured. The country's level of production technology, which had developed through a long tradition, now also began to grope forward in the direction of modernization. In addition, in port cities like Shanghai, Guangzhou, Fuzhou, etc., foreign merchants had already opened a number of small-scale, modernized shipbuilding, ship-repair, and export-processing factories and the like. The conditions prevailing then were all the material base that served to produce the Westernization Movement. Speaking of the conditions surrounding the country's level of production technology, a small number of people steeped in scientific knowledge had already begun to test-produce modern vessels, cannons, and machines on the eve of the Westernization faction's establishment of modern industries. For example, China's earliest technical personnel in engineering like Hua Hengfang, Xu Shou, etc., successfully test-produced the country's first steam engine in 1862 at Interior Arsenal in Anqing. In the following year, they again successfully test-produced "The Oriole," a steamship with a wood framework. Later on, they also directly participated in the operation of the Jiannan Arsenal, took a leading role in its technical production work, and thereby became the country's native technical mainstay in the Westernization Movement. Speaking of the conditions surrounding the establishment of factories by the foreign merchants in China's port cities, again it was known, according to available statistics, that before 1863 there were already 26 modern factories and enterprises in operation throughout China established by foreign capital, of which shipyards and shipbuilding factories alone numbered 10 and machinery and iron works numbered three.<sup>3</sup> As for the Chinese

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<sup>1</sup> "A Complete Account of the Management of Barbarian Affairs," volume 25, page 10.

<sup>2</sup> "Zeng wenzeng gong quanji (Complete Works of Zeng Guofan)," memorials section, volume 13, page 14.

<sup>3</sup> Sun Yutang, ed. "Zhongguo jingdai gongyehshih ziliao (Materials on China's Modern Industrial Heavy)," First Series, Volume 1, pages 234-236.

workers employed by these factories, some places accommodated a few scores where the scale of their operation was small, and some places accommodated several hundred where the scale of their operation happened to be fairly big. These were the earliest technical workers in China who learned to use machines; they were also the earliest proletarians to emerge in China. Part of the technical workers who worked in the cannon factory established by Li Hongzhang in Shanghai in 1862 and in the cannon factory he likewise established in Suzhou in 1863 came from none other than some of the factories established by the foreign merchants in the first place. The very first modernized military industry, the Jiangnan Arsenal, was none other than the American Merchants' Flag Iron Works already in operation in Shanghai, which was purchased at the price of 60,000 taels of silver. That factory's complete equipment of machinery, together with American capitalist Kerr, eight foreign workers, and part of its Chinese work forces became the base establishment of the Jiangnan Arsenal itself. As for the Qing government's original, officially operated military handicraft industries, they constituted even more relevantly the important conditions on the basis of which the Westernization Faction created the country's modern military industries. The scale of the Anqing Interior Arsenal established by Zeng Guofan, insofar as its equipment was concerned, was actually that of a handicraft workshop attached to an army. The units in charge of oil firearms, like the Capital Bivouac, Military Security Bivouac, Weapons Bivouac, etc., also continued to participate in activities surrounding the copying of Western weapons production. Early Yi Shu, in order to learn techniques of weapons production from the West, dispatched 8 military officers and 40 soldiers from the Capital Bivouac and Weapons Bivouac to the various arsenals under Li Hongzhang's jurisdiction in Jiangsu. Insofar as the internal management system was concerned, units like the Jiannan Arsenal and Fuzhou Shipyard had still inherited only the kind of system adopted by the officially operated military workshops. These units practiced serious military enslavement and military oppression toward the workers there, thus exemplifying a heavy feudal outlook representative of such officially operated military workshops. The Westernization Movement was initiated on the very material foundations mentioned above.

During the 1860's, economic thought concerning China's modernization as represented by thinkers like Gong Ziren, Wei Yuan, Fong Guifen and Yong Hong had already started to take shape, and it thus eventually became the ideological foundation of the emergence of the Westernization Movement. Gong Ziren's economic thought had a rather profound influence on China's modern economic thinkers and hence provided a great enlightening role. But because the period during which he lived was basically before the Opium War, his understanding of foreign economic aggression and of the world situation in general was limited. Therefore, economic thought concerning modernization was by no means outstanding at this stage, and its ideological influence upon the Westernization Movement, too, proved rather meager. There were not a few common points between Wei Yuan's early economic thought and that of Gong Ziren. After the country's defeat during the First Opium War, Wei Yuan's economic thought made great strides toward modernization. He first suggested that the slogan "Learn What Is Good About the Barbarians"



Techniques So As To Control the Barbarians." In the beginning, what Wei Yuan saw as good Western techniques was limited to the military aspects, saying: "The barbarians have three good technical products--first, war vessels; second, weapons; and third, methods for raising and training troops."<sup>1</sup> Later, he proceeded from copying the production of war vessels of the foreign countries to thinking, as a matter of natural association, about the production of merchant vessels, and from copying the production of modern guns and cannons to thinking about the production of machines for civilian use, suggesting that "while the production of war vessels can only be limited, the production of vessels for sale should be countless," and that "while the production of cannons can only be limited, the production of ordinary machines and instruments should be countless."<sup>2</sup> It was his policy, in other words, to take the introduction of the West's modern military industry merely as a start; there was a need to proceed from that toward introduction of certain machine industries for civilian use, too. The influence of Wei Yuan's thinking on the Westernization Movement was thus rather obvious. The Westernization Faction's slogan "Learn the Barbarians' Expertise So As To Produce Vessels and Cannons" was taken over from no one other than Wei Yuan himself. The only difference was that they, in doing so, took out Wei Yuan's patriotic spirit in wanting to "control the barbarians" and substituted for it their own traitorous line of "conniving with the barbarians" and "surrendering to the barbarians." The economic thought of Fong Guifen who, as a contemporary of the Westernization Movement period, directly participated in the Westernization Movement, had an even more conspicuous influence on the Westernization Movement. The slogan representative of the central ideology of the Westernization Faction in terms of "Chinese Learning as Substance, Western Learning for Utilitarian Purpose" was actually a duplication of Fong Guifen's policy of "Taking China's own ethics and moral education as the irreplaceable foundation, and supplementing it with techniques of enriching and strengthening the nation from other countries." Fong Guifen was also the liaison man who introduced Li Hongzhang's Hui Army into Shanghai, where the latter thus had his chance of conniving with the foreign aggressors, and Fong also served for 2 years as Li Hongzhang's personal adviser, which therefore serves to indicate that his influence on the thinking of Li Hongzhang was by no means insignificant. Yong Hong, who reflected the outlook of a pioneering bourgeois reformist, also had a rather conspicuous influence on the ideology of the Westernization Movement. As early as 1863, Yong Hong had

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<sup>1</sup> Wei Yuan, "Haicou pian, san (Discourse on Maritime Planning, Section III)," "Hai guo tu zi (An Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries)," 24th year of the Reign of Daoguang (1844), Weitong Juzen edition, 50-volume edition, volume 1, page 40.

<sup>2</sup> Wei Yuan, "Haicou pian, san (Discourse on Maritime Planning, Section III)," "Hai guo tu zi (An Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries)," 24th year of the Reign of Daoguang (1844), Weitong Juzen edition, 50-volume edition, Vol 1, pages 45-46.



already responded to Zeng Guofan's summons by going to Anqing to plan the establishment of a machine factory. He made a suggestion that a main factory for all machinery first be established, and he was entrusted by Zeng to go to America to buy the necessary machinery which, upon his return, became one of the important supplies for the Jiannan Arsenal. The idea of "searching for the instruments that control the weapons," proposed by the Westernization Faction, later stemmed from the very acceptance of this suggestion for "a main factory for all machinery" on Yong Hong's part. The emergence of the Westernization Movement was therefore closely related to the above-mentioned early economic thought concerning China's modernization.

## II. The Westernization Movement Is a Complex and Complicated Embodiment of Contradictions

Lenin said: "In any given society, the desires and orientations of some people are bound to run counter to the desires and orientations of other people. Society is therefore full of contradictions."<sup>1</sup> Just as we have stated above, the background at the time of the emergence of the Westernization Movement was an era of great changes of extreme complexity. As a result, the entire Westernization Movement was also imbued and intertwined with complex and complicated contradictions. It was an embodiment of complex and complicated contradictions precisely of this sort.

In the first place, what the Westernization movement attempted to do was to graft the flower of the West's modern production technology onto the tree of China's own feudal system. That is to say, it attempted to use modern production technology as a means to realize its goal of defending and consolidating the prevailing feudal rule. Conspicuous and irreconcilable contradictions, however, happened to exist here between the means and the goal. These were the Westernization Movement's intrinsic contradictions, and they were also the root cause that eventually led to the bankruptcy of the Westernization Movement itself. This embodiment of contradictions, the Westernization Movement, was, just as the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" says, a case of "trying to stuff the modern means of production and exchange arbitrarily into the framework of relationships under the old ownership system." As such, it could only be "both reactionary and utopian," indeed.<sup>2</sup> Production relationships must adapt to the nature of development of the productive forces themselves. This is the law of social development, irrespective of human will. The West's modern production technology has developed to its present state on the basis of the victory won by capitalist production relationships over feudal production relationships. Because of the limitations of the time and the limitations of the nature of their class, it was of course impossible for leaders of the Westernization Movement to understand this law. They merely started from the narrow interest of their own

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<sup>1</sup>"Complete Works of Lenin," volume 21, page 39.

<sup>2</sup> "Selected Essays by Marx and Engels," two-volume edition, volume 1, page 33.

class and their own clique in their vain attempt to transplant intact the West's modern production technology into China, while they neither dared nor wanted to touch the old, feudal production relationships in the slightest way. Yet it seemed to them that this would suffice in attaining their goal of defending and consolidating the feudal role. The result was that reality ran counter to their desire; though internal people's revolutions were temporarily suppressed by bloody measures, even greater contradictions were actually being nurtured; and even while a compromise was temporarily secured between the regime and the foreign aggressors, aggressive operations of larger and larger scale were only to follow still later. The Westernization Movement had merely served as a shot in the arm with respect to feudal rule; it could not have saved its life. The flower of the West's modern production technology that was grafted to the tree of China's feudal society proved fundamentally incapable of fruition. It was bound to wilt as the final outcome. This was namely the inevitable fate brought about by the contradiction between the goal and the means of the Westernization Movement.

What the Westernization Movement aroused inside the circles of the feudal ruling class was also one contradiction after another, glaringly reflected especially in the contradiction between the Westernization Faction and the Reactionary Faction. At that time, the ruling class of the Qing government as a whole had actually consisted of reactionaries; the Westernization Faction was differentiated from the ranks of these reactionaries after the Second Opium War. Insofar as the reactionary standpoint was concerned, there was complete consistency between the Westernization Faction and the Reactionary Faction respecting their motives and their goal in attempting to defend and consolidate feudal rule. But as for the ways and means as to how this goal could be achieved, they differed radically from each other and hence resorted to endless bickering. The Westernization Faction intended, on the basis of maintaining feudal rule, to transplant modern production technology from the West in order to "achieve strengthening" and "attain wealth." The Reactionary Faction, on the other hand, insisted on following their feudal dogma and firmly opposed learning from the West or initiating any Westernization movement. For this reason, the Westernization Movement, as it eventually unfolded, became subject to incessant attacks and opposition from the Reactionary Faction; it also constantly aroused discussion and debate within the ruling circles of the Qing Dynasty. Among the large-scale debates were, for instance, the debate of 1867 on the question as to whether the Tongwen Quan (Foreign Languages Institute) should be established; the debate of 1874 surrounding the question of setting up factories to build vessels, cannons, and machinery and planning maritime defense; and the debate of 1880 on the question of building railroads. Other debates of smaller scale were even more numerous. During each of these debates, the Reactionary Faction did their best to launch their attacks on the various measures adopted by the Westernization Faction. They trotted out feudal dogmas such as "propriety, righteousness, incorruptibility and shame," "the way of Heaven and the hearts of the people," "assimilating what is foreign with what is Chinese," etc., in order to refute the study of "foreign learning" as a whole, saying that "the way to maintain the forthright posture of the state is to uphold propriety and righteousness and not to put any premium on expediency and machination;

the fundamental approach in this regard is therefore to win the hearts of the people and not to pay attention just to acquiring technology.<sup>1</sup> They alleged that the Westernization Faction's promotion of Western learning was a way to "abandon the great bedrocks and great fountainheads of propriety, righteousness, incorruptibility and (sense of) shame," to "corrupt the minds of the people," and to "assimilate what is Chinese with what is foreign." They even belabored those who resorted to talking loosely about Westernization as "bringing misfortune to the country and the people" or directly as "ruinous deluge and bloodthirsty animals." Nee Na-la, who was in control of the highest ruling power of the Qing government at the time, was, on the one hand, forced to support the Westernization Movement by the prevailing trend and yet, on the other hand, could not but manifest a suspicious and jealous disposition toward central figures of the Westernization Movement like Zeng Guofen, Li Hongzhang, and Zou Zongtang. The result was a tendency to shield as well as to instigate the Reactionary Faction to attack the Westernization Movement, and also to hamper the Westernization Movement itself, in order thereby to achieve the purpose of allegedly "allowing free discussion for the sake of maintaining the overall situation (of stability)."<sup>2</sup> At the same time, Nee Na-la also used the internal contradictions of the Westernization Movement in order to achieve the balance she desired by taking advantage, first of all, of the contradictions between the Hunan Clique and the Anhui Clique, for instance, and then by buttressing the forces of Zhang Zidong in order to hamstring Li Hongzhang. In addition, contradictions between the Han and the Manchu nationalities were also involved in these maneuvers. For this reason, the Westernization Movement took place in an environment of a complexity of contradictions within the ranks of the ruling class of the Qing government. Members of the Westernization Movement consisted mainly of some responsible administrators of the various regions who were of the Han nationality; they neither constituted a majority, nor enjoyed the highest authority. This served to determine the fact that it was impossible for the Westernization Movement not to suffer the various restrictions and impediments that came from within the feudal forces themselves and that seriously hampered its smooth, forward development. There is a vast amount of historical facts to substantiate this; we do not intend to give too many examples. Just as onlooker Wang Tao said at the time: "The fact was that there were not more than two or three persons who considered the Western approach as practicable, but the imperial court was full of those who considered the Western approach as impracticable or as something that should not at all be practised in China or, even if practicable, something that simply would not last."<sup>3</sup> This shows that the situation with the Westernization Faction in

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<sup>1</sup>National Scholar Wo Ren's words, quoted indirectly from "Yangwu yundong (Westernization Movement)" historical data, volume 2, page 13.

<sup>2</sup>Zheng Guanying's words, "Shengshi Weiyan ("Disturbing Expressions Under a Prosperous Reign")," volume 4, essay on railways.

<sup>3</sup>Quoted indirectly from "The Westernization Movement" historical data, volume 1, page 486.



the context of the Qing government was not very smooth. Some comrades do not agree with us on this kind of view. They speak of the central government of the Qing Dynasty headed by Nee Na-la as if it was sympathetic with and supportive of the Westernization Movement, denying the fact that restrictions and impediments existed; this is not in accord with historical reality. We must know that the contradictions that rose between the Westernization Movement and the inner circles of the feudal ruling class were the inevitable outcome fostered by the contradictions between the goal and the means of the Westernization Movement itself. The feudal ruling clique of the Qing government at that time was the representative of the feudal, backward forces that had persisted in China for over 2,000 years. Its muddled thinking and stubbornness, its corruption and ineptitude, had reached the lowest ebb. It would be strange indeed if the Westernization Faction, wishing vainly to graft the West's modern production technology onto the Chinese society, on the premise of not touching one bit the feudal system of the Qing government itself, should be spared such restrictions and impediments originating from the inner circles of the feudal ruling class.

Concerning the nature of the contradictions between the Westernization Faction and the Reactionary Faction--that is to say, concerning the nature of the debates between the two factions--there have been different views in academic circles. Some comrades have proffered beneficial criticisms concerning our viewpoint; such criticisms are worthy of our profound reflection, indeed. But, even today we still think that it is impossible for us to regard the debates between the two factions simply as the dogfight kind of struggle within the feudal ruling class itself, and hence take the two as the same kind of social forces. Because while the two held consistent views concerning the reactionary goal of defending and consolidating feudal rule, there was, after all, a clear difference in the methods the two advocated for the attainment of that goal. The Reactionary Faction firmly advocated maintaining intact the prevailing feudal and backward economic condition continuously and firmly opposed the adoption of modern production techniques and methods from the West. In their fanatical attack and opposition vis-a-vis the Westernization Movement, their overall spirit was that of clinging to their reactionary, conservative standpoint, refusing to accept new things and betraying their fear of new things and thereby reflecting and representing the feudal and backward economic forces in China at the time. As for the Westernization Faction, they had, after all, already felt that it was a situation of great change at that time and that it would be impossible not to change along with it. They thus positively imitated the West's modern production technology, initiated the Westernization approach, and in rapid succession started the very first batch of military and civilian industries in China and the country's modern army and navy. In this case, even while their motives and their goal remained very reactionary and shabby, and the road they were trying to follow likewise tended to lead China toward the abyss of a semicolonial and semifeudal future, the fact that at a time when the modern capitalist mode of production was just at the point of emerging in China and when, on the other hand, social conditions were not yet ripe for it at that time, the Westernization Faction, despite its position within the reactionary and feudal camp, did inadvertently lift the curtain of the modern mode of production in China; this, from the historical standpoint of seeking truth



from facts, makes it appropriate for us, after all, to equate them with the Reactionary Faction and thereby give them each a blow on the head whether one might prove to be a walnut, while the other an orange. In this sense, our saying that the Westernization Movement, in respect to the change from an ancient and backward feudal economy and the stimulation of the emergence and development of China's modern mode of production, has objectively played a certain role may not be considered, we hope, an unjustifiable deviation from the orthodoxy of truth and honesty. As for saying that the Westernization Movement to a certain extent actually reflected or represented a new direction of development on the part of Chinese society, this would be erroneous and we should modify it and at the same time add the modifier "objectively."

Contradictions likewise existed between the Westernization Movement and the foreign aggressors. True, the Westernization Movement was a product of the mutual connivance between China's feudal forces and the foreign aggressors; dependence was the principal aspect of the relationship between the Westernization Movement and the foreign aggressors; and what the Westernization Faction carried out in practice was a policy line of appeasement, surrender, and betrayal to the foreign aggressors: all this is historical reality that nobody can deny. Yet, there is also a contradictory aspect in the relationship between the Westernization Movement and the foreign aggressors, and this, too, is historical reality that no one can deny. The modern military industries and the modern army and navy initiated by the Westernization Movement, once put into operation, did run into conflict, after all, with the military interests of the foreign aggressors themselves. Especially after the peasant revolutions were temporarily put down in the country, the spearhead of the troops with modern equipment in the Qing government's employ would sometimes also be turned against the foreign aggressors themselves. Examples like the war of 1874, when Minister of Shipbuilding Administration Shen Baozhen led contingents of the navy and the army to Taiwan to fight the aggression of the Japanese Army, and the war of 1876, when Zou Zongtang sent troops to Xinjiang to fight the aggression of Britain and Russia, would suffice to explain the question at hand. During the Sino-French War, China militarily won a battle which was only heartlessly betrayed by Li Hongzhang's appeasement and surrender policy. When the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 broke out, the Qing government's army and naval strength in force was at least not inferior to that of Japan. Were it not because of Li Hongzhang's single-mindedness in trying to keep his own military strength intact and his unwillingness to put up any firm resistance, and if all commanding officers at the front had behaved like Deng Shicang in persisting in their resistance, China would not have been defeated in such an ignominious manner. The modern military industries of that time also played a certain role in the succeeding series of wars against the foreign aggressors. Jiannan Arsenal, for instance, operated day and night during the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 in order to produce the necessary ammunitions and arms in support of the front. No foreign aggressor would ever willingly allow a nation under its oppression to arm itself. The armed forces initiated by the Westernization Movement, which was of considerable scale could not but arouse the hostility of the foreign aggressors, compelling them to plot in every manner in order to control, hamper, or sabotage these forces. In reality, the main military industries

and the main force of the navy initiated by the Westernization Faction--The North China Sea Fleet, etc.--were all subject to close control and manipulation by the foreign aggressors. The modern civilian industries, mining operations, transportation and enterprises of the like initiated by the Westernization Movement especially ran into direct conflict with the economic interests of the foreign aggressors and were not tolerated by the foreign aggressors. In one article, we have listed examples how units like the China Merchants Steamship Company and the Shanghai Textile Mill initiated by the Westernization Movement played a certain role in resisting the economic aggression of foreign capital. For this, we have been blamed by some comrades. In reality, the relationship between the Westernization Movement and the foreign aggressors was also complex and complicated. Connivance, dependence and appeasement constituted the principal aspect. But a contradictory aspect also existed at the time; otherwise, it would be impossible to have many historical facts adequately explained. For example, after the China Merchants Steamship Company was established, if it had not resisted or offended the foreign merchants' interests, why did the foreign merchants cut their prices without hesitation in competing against it? Why did the American merchants' Qicang Company, because of this, even sustain a loss in putting its merchandise on sale? The situation surrounding the establishment of the Shanghai Textile Mill was similar. What Li Hongzhang said in this regard, that "one more fraction of native products sold would also mean one less fraction of foreign products sold,"<sup>1</sup> was not entirely empty talk, indeed. The cotton fabrics produced by the Textile Mill, whatever might have been their quantity, played a role of resistance, after all, vis-a-vis the foreign cotton fabrics already being imported. Before the signing of the Shimonoseki Treaty of betrayal, it was also a historical fact that the Qing government never allowed foreign merchants to set up textile mills and mining operations. Even if the goal of the Westernization Faction in initiating these enterprises was, as they said at the time, to "share a little of the profits enjoyed by the foreign merchants," or in other words was to serve the interests of their own class and their own clique by winning promotions and garnering wealth, and to share but the leftover cup of soup of the foreign aggressors, they nevertheless did run into conflict with the interests of the foreign aggressors. Precisely because of the existence of this contradictory aspect in the relationship between the Westernization Movement and the foreign aggressors, the so-called "support" these foreign aggressors afforded the Westernization Movement was provided entirely from the standpoint of their own interest in the expansion of their influence, in the promotion of their own merchandise, and in the control of necessary power. Once they discovered that the Westernization Movement offended their own interests, they immediately tore off their mask of "support" and bared their true, ugly face,

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<sup>1</sup> Li Hongzhang, "Shiban zhibuju ze (Memorial on the Experimental Establishment of a Textile Mill)," quoted indirectly from "Zhongguo jindai gongyehshi ziliao (Materials on China's Modern Industrial History)," First Series, volume II, page 1,051.

starting thereby to hamper or sabotage their operations. For example, the frequent practice of competing with the China Merchants Steamship Company by reducing their own prices was not stopped until the Company submitted to them in appeasement. This was the essence of all foreign aggressors. The attempt on the part of the ringleaders of the Westernization Faction vainly to transplant modern production technology from the West under the aegis of the foreign aggressors themselves for the sake of "self-strengthening" and "enrichment" of China was, in reality, only a case of "trying to borrow the tiger's skin"--which, of course, was fundamentally impossible to accomplish.

Similarly complex and complicated was the contradiction between the Westernization Movement and the country's early national capital. There existed in that contradiction both an aspect of restriction, control and oppression, i.e., an aspect which was mutually contradictory, and an aspect of initiation, promotion and stimulation, i.e., an aspect which was mutually causal. The former aspect meant mainly that the Westernization Faction practiced monopoly with respect to the modern enterprises they were initiating, which necessarily hampered the free development of national capital. The latter meant mainly that the modern military and civilian industries started by the Westernization Faction prepared the necessary conditions for the emergence and development of national capital with respect to the change of relevant customs in society, the use of machines for production, the training of technical personnel, the introduction of experience in the managing of enterprises, and the communication of scientific and technological knowledge, etc. Because of the reactionary nature of the Westernization Movement, the aspect of mutually contradictory relationship with national capital had to be the principal aspect; this should be emphasized. The aspect of mutually causal relationship, on the other hand, had to be secondary, but this should not be overlooked, either. Much bickering has arisen on this question in the past; this should be of some help to the further study of the question itself sooner or later, and we do not intend to discuss it very much here. What we would like to discuss here is limited to some of our views concerning the effect of the Westernization Movement on the basic conditions pertaining to the early period of the process of emergence of national capital. When modern China entered the 1870's, conditions giving rise to national capital, both subjective and objective, had already gradually ripened. Newly established modern industries of national capital had also made their appearance one after another. The bureaucrats, compradors, and rich merchants who had accumulated large amounts of money and wealth were all lively and ready to invest in the modern enterprises. In the case of a number of comprador merchants who had newly gained their wealth by relying on the foreign aggressors, their interest in investing was even higher, and some of them had already invested in the foreign merchants' enterprises. For instance, in the steamship companies established in 1862 such as the American merchants' Qicang and the British merchants' Yiho, there was in their capital not a small portion which was the investment of China's own comprador merchants. But because China's feudal, backward forces still occupied the ruling position, the road toward the establishment of large-scale modern enterprises was by no means smooth. Problems like capital formation, transportation of raw



materials, transportation and sales of finished products, reduction or exemption of taxes, etc., could be smoothly solved only when a powerful umbrella of protection was found. And at this juncture, the Westernization Movement was just being developed from the basic establishment modern military industries toward establishment of modern civilian enterprises. Because of this, private capital was urgently needed for the solution of the problem of capital source. Therefore, the ringleaders of the Westernization Movement began to advocate "the government gathering the [financial] power of the people for the sake of recovering the profits and rights [lost to foreigners]," and also to advocate "calling upon the merchants to make up [the necessary capital for the establishment of] the various companies." They also suggested the concrete form of merchant-management under official supervision. In his memorial to the throne on the experimental establishment of the China Merchants Steamship Company, Li Hongzhang, for one, made a point to relate the following proposal submitted by Zhu Qiang and others: "These individuals are natives of the Wusung-Shanghai region who are very well acquainted with the rich merchants from the various provinces stationed in Shanghai. Some of them have bought steamships, while others are equipped with capital. They all proceed to the various ports to seek their shiploads of merchandise, and they also attach themselves to certain foreign merchants. If the government should choose to establish a Merchants Company for the sake of recruiting them, then the steamships and capital of these merchants shall inevitably be gathered gradually into the official company. This appears to respond relevantly to feelings expressed by the merchants on the one hand and serves to exalt the prestige of the state on the other hand."<sup>1</sup> This shows that leaders of the Westernization Faction did have some understanding of the orientation of private capital at the time. For this reason, the Westernization Faction and early national capital achieved mutual unity without a hitch through this form of merchant management under official supervision as a result of the common interest of mutual need and mutual advantage thus envisaged. It should be acknowledged that for a time at the beginning, the form of merchant management under official supervision was welcomed by private capital. Out of the 24 merchant-managed modern mining enterprises started during the years between 1875 and 1894, there were as many as 23 which operated by merchant management under official supervision. Even Zheng Guanying, who most energetically advocated merchant management while opposing official management, at one point had only high praise for merchant management under official supervision, attaching great hope to it and even participating actively in relevant activities. Under the dual pressure of feudal rule and aggressive foreign capital, the form of merchant management under official supervision really provided considerable conditions of convenience to the newly established national capital enterprises. The processes through which the China Merchants Steamship Company and the Shanghai Textile Mill were planned and established fully explain this point. If the China Merchants Steamship Company had not been merchant-managed and under official supervision, thereby enjoying full support by the Qing government, what strength would it have had to rely on while competing with foreign

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted indirectly from "The Westernization Movement" historical data, volume 6, page 5.



merchants? And what strength would it have had to rely on in its purchase of the total property of Qicang Company at a price of over 2 million yuan? In the case of the Shanghai Textile Mill, too, if Li Hongzhang had not secured in its behalf the approval of the Qing government for a monopoly of 10 years, for a reduction of taxation, and for borrowing of official funds, it would have been very hard for the mill to stand on its own. Not to mention other factors, if just the reduction of taxation alone had not been accomplished--if the mill had not secured equal treatment vis-a-vis imported cotton fabrics--it would, in its absence, have been impossible to compete against the foreign merchants. Therefore, the fact that we have pointed out the existence of an aspect of support and protection in the relationship between the Westernization Movement and early national capital was based on nothing more than these historical facts at the beginning of the plan of merchant management under official supervision. In reality, China's national capital took shape under the double stimulation of aggressive foreign capital and the Westernization Movement itself. It was connected with foreign capital and had an even closer relationship with bureaucrats of the Westernization Movement. Not a few upper-stratum personalities of the national bourgeoisie participated in the Westernization Movement. Some of them came over from the Westernization Faction itself; the fact that they received the support and protection of the Westernization Movement, therefore, was nothing at all strange. Of course, because of the fundamental contradictions of the Westernization Movement, it could not have had any program or policy for the development of national capital. The support and protection it afforded to the newly emergent national capital could only be temporary and partial; the main feature, really, was control, exclusion, and assault. Most of the merchant-managed enterprises under official supervision suffered losses and bankruptcy under the domination of the feudal, corrupt bureaucrats of the Westernization Faction. As a result, private capital was scared away by this general outlook of affairs and refrained from joining them; its once harbored illusion about the Westernization Movement itself thus also vanished because of this.

The ideological system of the Westernization Movement was also full of contradictions and could not justify its own arguments. The notorious slogan "Chinese learning as substance and Western learning for utility" was none other than the center of the ideological system of the Westernization Movement. This reactionary slogan inherited the thinking of landlord-class reformist Fong Guifen concerning "Taking China's own ethics and moral education as the irreplaceable foundation, and supplementing it with the techniques of enriching and strengthening the nation from other countries" on the one hand, and absorbed foreign aggressive element (?Robert Hart's) so-called "proposal" that "people can study and attain all the facilities the foreign countries have, and China can retain all her own niceties for them to follow"<sup>1</sup> on the other hand. This fully exposed the reactionary characteristic of the Westernization Movement in uniting foreign colonialism and

<sup>1</sup>(Robert Hart?), "Juwai pongguan lun (Views of an Onlooker)," quoted from "A Complete Account of the Management of Barbarian Affairs," The Reign of Tongzhi, Volume 40, pages 17-18.

Chinese feudalism. This slogan was proposed by Zhang Zhidong during the later period of the Westernization Movement; but at the beginning of the Westernization Movement, Li Hongzhang had already stated that to study the foreign countries' weapons and technology was merely a matter of "attending to the limbs," whereas only China's feudalistic system of education on propriety remained the "body" that alone could help "achieve governance and protect the state." This reactionary ideology on the part of the ringleaders of the Westernization Movement tallied perfectly with their actual behavior. It was also helpful in creating the "theoretical basis" their actual behavior would need. Hence, it likewise fully reflected the fundamental contradiction between the means and the goal of the Westernization Movement—i.e., it became theoretically self-contradictory, and in practice had no real outlet. By the time of the latter half of the 19th century, the feudal system of education on rites left over in China for several thousand years had already become fully corrupt and stale and should have been subject to thorough change. Yet, out of their reactionary desire to defend and consolidate feudal rule, the ringleaders of the Westernization Faction still doggedly embraced it without relaxation. On the other hand, they were forced to admit that China's guns, cannons, and machines were inferior to those of the West and that it was necessary to learn from the West, and therefore they proposed a mixed Sino-Western, nondescript slogan. This so-called "Chinese learning as substance and Western learning for utility" meant nothing more than using the West's modern production technology as a means to attain the goal of defending and consolidating feudal rule. Here, "Chinese learning" and "Western learning" constitute two separate systems: one is a feudalistic system, and one is a capitalistic system. To mix the two arbitrarily together is against the law of social development. The upshot inevitably becomes a case of neither Western learning being able to be well "utilized"—i.e., with only a superficial exterior subject to such a learning process—nor the "body" of Chinese learning, subject to the impact of Western learning as it was, being able to be well preserved. Of course, we must return to our earlier observation that the Westernization Faction, in daring to adopt Western learning as methods and means, could not help but be slightly superior to the stereotyped, deadly rigid attitude of the Reactionary Faction.

Contradictions of other kinds also existed in the Westernization Movement, such as contradictions within a given enterprise, contradictions between military industries and civilian industries, etc. These we shall refrain from enumerating any further at this point.

### III. How To Appraise the Westernization Movement as a Whole

Thus far, we have described the background of the time of the Westernization Movement's emergence and pointed out the complex and complicated contradictions between the Westernization Movement and the country's development in various other aspects. Now let us take up the question of how to appraise the Westernization Movement as a whole.

The Westernization Movement, in China's modern history, was a reactionary movement. It was the criminal product of a connivance between part of the ruling circles of the Qing government and foreign aggressors in their common suppression of the Chinese people's revolution. It was a criminal product of part of the ruling circles of the Qing government, who created it for the reactionary purpose of defending and consolidating feudal rule. It was a criminal product fostered single-handedly by foreign aggressors to serve directly or indirectly the aggressive interests of foreign countries. It was a criminal product that helped lead modern China toward the abyss of semicolon and semifeudalism. It was also a criminal product hatched by and under the control of the notorious executioners and traitors and betrayers Zeng Guofan, Li Hongzhang, and the like. In a word, it wrote in modern Chinese history a not very glorious page. This is the basic and also main aspect in our appraisal of the Westernization Movement.

However, should our appraisal of the Westernization Movement stop here? Obviously not. Because the Westernization Movement, after all, did occupy a rather important spot in a period as long as 35 years in China's modern history. For the first time it established a number of the Chinese people's own military and civilian industries on China's own soil, and thereby lifted the curtain of a feudal China by adopting the capitalist mode of production from the West. The total amount of capital committed to the military and civilian industries it established was 22,630,000 yuan, making up 45.22 percent of the total capital of all modern enterprises of that period. The workers hired by these industries numbered 34,100-40,810, making up 37.33-41.62 percent of all the workers hired by the modern enterprises of that period.<sup>1</sup> It initiated China's very first modern coal mine, its very first modern iron and steel works, its very first modern wool factory, its very first modern spinning and weaving textile mills, etc. There is obviously another aspect of the Westernization Movement, [which objectively exists], and this is also an aspect which cannot be blotted away in our appraisal of the Westernization Movement.

According to the dialectic-materialistic standpoint of Marxism, the historical development of human society is like the history of the development of nature; in both cases, there exist general laws that determine their development from within. Of course, there is also a great difference between historical development and the development of nature; the latter unfolds because of the interplay of a number of blind, inanimate forces, whereas that which [plays the role of] activates the former is none other than man himself, who is not only endowed with ideas and senses, but also possessed with definite purpose, and who does so only after a process of profound thinking and mature deliberation. But, however important this difference may prove to be to the study of history, it cannot change to the slightest

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<sup>1</sup> Consult Jiang's translation of "Shilun yangwu yundong ti jinji huodong he waiguo qingluoh zhiben to maodun (A Tentative Review of the Contradictions Between the Westernization Movement's Economic Activities and the Aggressive Capital of Foreign Countries)," Wenhui Bao, January 12, 1962.



extent the objective fact that the process of society's historical development obeys certain internal laws. Therefore, the phenomenon of social development is just as Engels said: "What man expects can be realized fully in only a very few cases; the goals embraced by people are mostly unattainable because they often conflict with each other and contradict each other, or as a result of the nature of such goals in some cases and as a result of the inadequacy of the means designed for realizing such goals in other cases... Action is a goal endowed with a certain desire; but the results coming from such actions may not be entirely what has been desired. Even if such results appear at first to be in accord with the original desires, what they bring, in the final analysis, proves to be far from the things desired. Therefore, by and large, chance also rules within the realm of historical phenomena. But wherever chance seems on the surface to be playing a role, this chance always obeys 'certain secret internal laws.' The whole problem hinges on the discovery of such laws."<sup>1</sup>

The Westernization Movement in China's modern history was precisely a movement which on the surface was determined by chance but which in reality obeyed the inevitable laws in the country's modern historical development. The process of the Westernization Movement completely obeyed the internal law by which China's modern history inevitably developed toward capitalism. Under the influence of objective conditions in the country at the time, China's feudal economy had already started to disintegrate; the capitalist mode of production was on the verge of making its appearance. But there was still a lack of social forces that could shoulder this historical mission. Consequently, the Westernization Faction, as part of the feudal ruling circles, took advantage of the ruling power in their hands and leaped forth, while motivated at the same time by their own class interest, and proceeded to transplant the capitalist production technology from the West and establish modern enterprises in a vain attempt to undertake a historical mission they were not equipped to undertake. Because the reactionary motivation and goal the Westernization Faction harbored in trying to defend and consolidate feudal rule was basically incompatible with the development of modern production technology, the result of the development of this movement proved inevitably contrary to what was desired. What the Westernization Faction reaped was not only not what they had desired but precisely what proved to be the opposite of their expected goal. Once on the soil of China, modern production technology was bound to stimulate and promote the emergence and development of China's national capital to a certain extent. What followed was the emergence of the new Chinese bourgeoisie and Chinese proletariat, which gradually developed into social forces that served to promote capitalism on the one hand and battered at feudalism on the other hand. In the end, it led directly to the accelerated destruction of the entire feudal rule, including the Westernization Faction itself. These magician-like ringleaders of the Westernization Movement, having once summoned forth the modern "devil" of the West's modern production technology, found it impossible to control it and

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<sup>1</sup>"Selected Essays of Marx and Engels," two-volume collection, volume II, page 389.



ultimately had to swallow the bitter fruit of having drawn nothing but fire upon themselves. China's own modern capitalist enterprises were initiated by the Westernization Faction in the first place; this was where chance played its role in China's modern history. But "it inadvertently turned on the switch of the machine, and once the machine started to roll, it gradually steered toward the explosive point where the old system was to be destroyed, while no force existed which could compel it to stop."<sup>1</sup> Here we have the obvious explanation that "this chance always obeys 'certain secret internal laws.'" The internal law in this case here was nothing else; it was precisely the objective law by which China's modern history developed toward capitalism. Actually, from its emergence, its development, to its ultimate failure, the entire Westernization Movement was subject to the control of this objective law and was led by the nose by this same objective law. This is to say that the process of the Westernization Movement's emergence and development inadvertently followed this objective law. The fact that its orientation, while correct, ultimately led to failure was because its motivation and its goal were of a reactionary nature which restricted and ran counter to this objective law. Therefore, our appraisal of the Westernization Movement as a whole must be built on the basis of this objective law. We acknowledge that the Westernization Movement, in changing the country's ancient and backward economy and in promoting the emergence and development of China's modern production technology, played a certain role objectively; this is precisely because we have based our appraisal on the above-stated objective law, pointing out that apart from the principal aspect which existed in the Westernization Movement, there was also another aspect which existed objectively.

The two aspects of the Westernization Movement reviewed above existed in a large amount of historical reality. This is also to say that the Westernization Movement which appeared in the first stage of China's modern history played, in reality, both a negative and a positive role simultaneously. If we are to give it an overall historical appraisal today, we should pay attention to both aspects without neglecting either. Not a few critics in the past have frequently emphasized the Westernization Movement's negative aspect while neglecting or simply blotting out its positive aspect. In order to point out this problem, we have in some of our discourses inappropriately leaned toward its positive aspect ourselves, and thereby caused some debate. Through our new study this time, we have come to believe that only by providing an appraisal which encompasses the above-stated two aspects together would it become relatively complete. If saying this seems to sound contradictory, then it should be recognized that what this Movement reflected in history objectively was itself nothing more or less than an embodiment of complex and complicated contradictions. And such contradictions are nothing but the true outlook of history viewed objectively. According to the Marxist-Leninist principle of seeking truth from facts, it is impossible for us to avoid such contradictions.

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<sup>1</sup> Dai Yi: "Yangwu lishi shilun (A Tentative Essay on the Westernization Movement)," PEOPLE'S DAILY, September 13, 1962, page 5.

Certain controversy has also been aroused concerning the class nature of the Westernization Movement. Generally speaking, what reflected the class disposition of the Westernization Movement was mainly certain high-ranking bureaucrats, certain big warlords, and certain big landlords in the ruling circles of the Qing government. But this disposition also went through continued evolution in the Westernization Movement's process of development. Lenin said: "When we observe the various classes and the different countries, we should not think that they remain in a static disposition, but that they are in a dynamic condition. This is to say that we should not think they are in resting but recognize that they are in a state of movement (this law of movement is derived from the conditions of economic life of each and every class)."<sup>1</sup> He also said: "We all know that the fundamental principle of Marxist dialectics is this: all categories in nature and in society are conditionally changeable; there is no phenomenon which cannot under given conditions change into its own opposite."<sup>2</sup> Therefore, with respect to the Westernization Movement's class disposition, we too should study it from the standpoint of movement and transformation. The Westernization Movement's feudal disposition was very conspicuous; it lasted throughout its duration and became its fatal infirmity. Principal members of the Westernization Faction also always maintained the status of bureaucrats, warlords, and landlords, and even Li Hongzhang, who garnered considerable wealth through the Westernization Movement, was no exception. The comprador disposition of the Westernization Movement was also very conspicuous, and it lasted throughout its duration and became another of its fatal infirmities. Principal members of the Westernization Movement likewise more or less leaned toward a comprador status; Li Hongzhang especially was a big comprador of foreign aggressors inside and out. Some compradors of the foreign companies joined the Westernization Movement halfway through their career and became the mainstay of the movement; this further enforced its comprador disposition. The capitalist disposition of the Westernization Movement, on the other hand, became conspicuous only through gradual steps of transformation in the process of the movement itself. In the stage when military industries were first created, this capitalist disposition was still rather flimsy, and inside each military industry, too, a feudal disposition reigned supreme. By the stage in which civilian industries were established, this capitalist disposition began to become conspicuous, and inside each civilian industry, this capitalist disposition had likewise gained the upper hand. Of the original military industries, some also started to transform in the direction of capitalism. As a result, the capitalist disposition of the entire Westernization Movement became increasingly conspicuous. Accompanying this situation, the class character of the entire Westernization Movement also underwent an incessant process of differentiation. Certain individual members came to incline toward capitalism. Those chief figures of the Westernization Movement who invested their capital and participated in the management of civilian enterprises, in particular, began to transform themselves into capitalists.

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<sup>1</sup>"Complete Works of Lenin," volume 21, page 55

<sup>2</sup>"Complete Works of Lenin," volume 22, page 302.

Among these figures, some of them gradually left the Westernization Faction and invested their capital in the establishment of industrial enterprises, thereby becoming national capitalists of the early period. Examples were Xu Ren, Zheng Guanying, Nieh Jigui, Yen Xinhou, Yang Zunglian, etc. Others among them, however, remained with the Westernization Faction. They manipulated and controlled the modern enterprises the Westernization Faction had created, turning what was public into private possessions, accumulating capital, and becoming bureaucrat capitalists of the early period. Shen Xuanhui was a typical exponent in this category. As for modern enterprises manipulated and controlled by people like Shan Xuanhui in the Westernization Movement, such as the China Merchants Steamship Company, Hanyehping Mining Company, and the like, they, too, became China's bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises of the early period. Consequently, the Westernization Movement, viewed in its entirety by this time, had already taken on a capitalist disposition. But this capitalism was not China's national capitalism; it was bureaucratic capitalism, which was the opposite of national capitalism. It was, furthermore, an abnormal capitalism in close league with foreign capital, imperialism, and Chinese feudalism; it was a special product of China's semicolonial and semi-feudal society. There was also a continuing link and close solidarity between China's early bureaucrat-capitalist enterprises and exponents of China's early bureaucrat-capitalist class brought forth by the Westernization Movement on the one hand and the bureaucratic capitalism later headed by the four principal families of the Kuomintang's reactionary faction on the other hand.

Concerning the Westernization Movement's purchase of foreign vessels, cannons and machinery and raw materials, employment of foreign technical personnel, i.e., introduction of Western technology, this question, too, should be given a correct appraisal. Because of the fact that capitalist countries of the West had one by one completed their industrial revolution by that time, the foundation of their modern science and technology was already well laid. But China still remained a backward state. Under such circumstances, the Westernization Faction suggested the slogan "Learn the barbarians' expertise to make vessels and cannons," and thereby introduced Western science and technology, created modern industries, and established the country's modern army and navy. Such an approach, needless to say, was far more enlightened than that of the Reactionary Faction, which exhibited a blind xenophobic disposition, dismissed all modern science and technology as "strange techniques and contrivant devices," and thereby firmly resisted them accordingly. This approach on the part of the Westernization Faction was not itself in error. From the viewpoint of history, all capitalist countries which transformed themselves from feudalism toward capitalism in a belated fashion, such as Russia and Germany, and especially Japan, where conditions very much resembled those in China itself, had had to go through such a process. At that juncture, the Japanese Government, under the Meiji Restoration, used large amounts of national capital to import machinery and equipment from Western countries, and also employed large numbers of foreign technical personnel. The foundation of the modernization of production technology in Japan was laid precisely on the basis of abundant introduction of Western



technology. The criminality of the Westernization Faction in this regard lies in the fact that they carried out the reactionary political line of selling themselves and attaching themselves to foreign aggressors, basically lacking the spirit of independence, self-determination, and self-reliance, and resorting single-mindedly to dependence on foreign countries and letting foreigners control and manipulate things as they pleased, or even betraying the nation's sovereignty and trying to fish out some profit in the process. The result was an acceleration of our nation's process of transforming itself toward semicolonialism and semifeudalism. This was predetermined by the reactionary essence of their feudal and comprador disposition.

Because of its reactionary nature and its fundamental contradictions, the Westernization Movement unavoidably ended in thorough failure. But the lessons of such failure which it left the Chinese people have nonetheless been very profound. In the article "A Comparison between China's Westernization Movement and Japan's Meiji Restoration in Economic Development," we have pointed out its conclusion in these words: "History has proved that during the latter half of the 19th century, when Western capitalism was gradually transforming itself toward imperialism, if economically backward countries, subject as they were to the control of feudalism on the one hand and to the invasion by the aggressive forces of foreign countries on the other hand, wished to change the backward outlook of their own countries, develop capitalism, and establish an independent and rich and powerful state for themselves, they must first of all proceed with a bourgeois-democratic revolution to overthrow feudalism and resist foreign aggression so as to break the straps of feudal forces internally and dissolve the oppression of aggressive forces externally, and thereby change the old production relationships, and establish new production relationships fundamentally adapted to the development of capitalist productive forces and also upper structures adapted to the new economic base. Only thus would it have been possible to realize the goal of enriching and strengthening their countries. This is the irresistible law of social development.<sup>1</sup> Japan's Meiji Restoration followed this law, and it therefore basically achieved its success. China's Westernization Movement, on the other hand, ran completely counter to this law; in the end, it unavoidably suffered defeat and bankruptcy. The purpose of our taking these two cases for comparison was also to point this out. Some comrades are opposed to our making such a comparison, alleging that the two constituted fundamentally different lines and different substances, and that such a comparison might to a certain extent serve to confuse the boundary between progress and reaction. This appears to be an unnecessary worry. There is a good saying: "Never mind not knowing what is a good piece of merchandise; pay attention only to one piece being compared to another." The result of setting China's Westernization Movement against Japan's Meiji Restoration not only did not confuse the boundary between progress and reaction, but, on the contrary, it all the more clearly defined the two sharply different consequences brought forth by the two fundamentally different lines and different substances, and all the more emphasized how heartrending the

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<sup>1</sup>"Historical Research," No 1, 1973, page 47.



lessons of failure left to the Chinese people by the Westernization Movement have been in China's modern history. The heartrending lessons of the failure of the Westernization Movement have brought deep and heavy suffering to several generations of Chinese people. But they have also been deeply rooted in Chinese society. They reflected the cockiness and stubbornness of the two great reactionary forces in old China--foreign capitalist imperialism and native feudalism. They also reflected the fact that, as a result of the connivance between the two great reactionary forces, it was bound to produce still a third reactionary force--Chinese bureaucratic capitalism. They reflected furthermore the fact that China's national capitalism, which represented the correct orientation of development of China's modern society, ran into the obstacles of the three big mountains thus erected from the very beginning; it could therefore only proceed on a rough, uneven road and in a much handicapped manner, carrying with it the softbone disease resulting from prenatal deficiency and postnatal ill nutrition. Precisely because of this, the main lesson of the Westernization Movement's failure not only did not gain acceptance by China's capitalist reformists, but it was not thoroughly accepted even by certain Chinese capitalist revolutionaries. As for the bureaucrat capitalist class of the later period headed by the Kuomintang's four big families, it not only did not accept this lesson, but even willingly trod the beaten track of the Westernization Faction itself, inherited the reactionary mantle of the Westernization Faction in politics, and did its best to proceed further in attaching itself to imperialism and conniving with the feudal forces. The upshot was that it brought misfortunes to the nation and to the people, and accelerated its own thorough disintegration. Only the New Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the Chinese proletariat and the Chinese Communist Party fully recognized the reactionary essence of the Westernization Movement and the heartrending lessons of failure it unavoidably suffered. It thoroughly overthrew the three big mountains imposed on the Chinese people and, on the basis of further accomplishing the socialist revolution, has reinforced socialist construction and is now bravely advancing toward the magnificent goal of accelerated realization of the motherland's four modernizations, of which the Chinese people have dreamed for many years!

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<sup>1</sup>"Historical Research," No 1, 1973, page 47.

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### COMMUNISTS VANGUARD ROLE ON BATTLEFIELD REPENTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 23 Apr 79 p 4

[Article: "Communists on the Battlefield"]

[Text] In the counterattack against the Vietnamese aggressors, Communists played an exemplary vanguard role everywhere. Wherever there was trouble, wherever there was danger, that is just where the Communists were. Their heroic deeds are shining examples for the nation's Communists on all fronts and the broad masses on the New Long March in their struggle to realize and safeguard socialist modernization.

"I am a Communist. I will be the squad leader!"

On 19 February, the 2nd and 6th Squads of the 5th Company of one of our frontier troop units unleashed an attack against Vietnamese soldiers on Hill 332 in the Dong Chu area. The hill is covered with thick forest and heavy undergrowth, and as a result some of our soldiers lost contact with their company command post during the intense fighting. They organized themselves on their own. Since they had no squad leader, Communist party member Shen Jianmin [3088 1696 3046] immediately stood up and said, "We should reorganize ourselves and continue fighting. I am a Communist, so I'll be the squad leader. Everybody follow my commands!" When Communist Youth League member Liu Geping [0491 2047 1627] heard the sentence, "I am a Communist," his emotions soared. He thought of the application for party membership he had submitted before the war, and he felt that now was just the time for him to undergo a test in party organization. He immediately spoke up, "I am a member of the Communist Youth League. I will help the squad leader lead us in battle!" Each and every soldier then stood up and raised his voice in acknowledgement: "I am a Communist Youth League member! I am a Communist Youth League member!" All those present made it known that they were willing to reorganize and continue fighting under the leadership of party member Shen Jianmin. Shen Jianmin spoke resolutely, "Comrades, we here are Communist Party members and Communist Youth League members. Although we have temporarily lost contact with our company, we are still

an organized unit with leadership, a united fighting collective. We shall continue fighting. Even if it means fighting down to the last man, we will hold on until the end!"

Hill 332 is lofty and its slopes are steep. The enemy had erected many plainly visible fortifications and camouflaged pillboxes. They had buried numerous land mines, making every step forward fraught with danger. Shen Jianmin addressed the group: "I am the squad leader, and I will be the point man. If I step on a land mine and sacrifice myself, you people continue advancing." Liu Geping became excited and said, "Squad Leader, give me this opportunity to be tested by the party!" Carrying a submachine gun, he sprang forward past his squad leader.

Liu Geping defied the enemy artillery bombardment and the constant danger of land mines underfoot. He dodged left and right, and quickly reached the top of the hill. Shen Jianmin and the rest of the squad followed him onto the top after knocking out three enemy firing positions in succession. The enemy soldiers were thrown into confusion. Just as one of them was about to open fire with a rifle, Shen Jianmin yelled and startled him completely. The enemy soldier dropped his weapon and meekly raised both hands in surrender. Hill 332 had been taken.

By this time all the squad's ammunition had been used up, and still there was no contact with the company command post. Shen Jianmin talked the situation over with the group, and the decision was made that they would defend the position while he descended the hill to search for their unit. As he was slowly making his way down the slope, he abruptly encountered two enemy soldiers. Shen Jianmin pointed his rifle at them and shouted in Vietnamese, "Lay down your weapons! I won't kill you!" One enemy raised his hands, and the other fired his weapon. Shen Jianmin immediately returned the fire, and the enemy soldier dropped to the ground. Shen Jianmin had been wounded as well. The comrades in his company who had been looking for the lost squad heard the shots and came running. By the time they arrived at the scene, Shen Jianmin had already died nobly as a martyr.

"I am a Communist. I cannot leave the battlefield."

On 18 February, an enemy counterattacking force advanced under cover of light and heavy machine gun fire toward Hill 154, which had been captured by our side, in the Gu Lieu [transliteration] area. Ninth Squad Squad Leader Ma Wenmian [7456 2429 4875] discovered the enemy machine gun nest below the hill, from which a brutal fusillade was being directed toward the 2nd Platoon's position. He called out, "Let's finish him off!" and pulled out a hand grenade as he stealthily climbed out of the trench. A soldier at his side hastily grabbed him, saying, "I'll go." Ma Wenmian answered, "I am a Communist. I'll go."



Ma Wennian quickly climbed out of the trench. Groping his way to a place less than 10 meters from the enemy machine gun nest, he tossed a hand grenade at it. The machine gun was destroyed. But just then an enemy soldier on his flank hurled a hand grenade at Ma Wennian, causing him to suffer a total of three wounds in the head and chest. Yet he tenaciously stood up, returned to his position and continued to direct the fight. His submachine gun clattered away without pause, and his blood dripped steadily. Eighth Squad Squad Leader and Communist Youth League member Han Congjun [7281 1783 6511] swiftly came forward to offer aid, and to see that Ma Wennian be quickly removed from the battlefield. Ma Wennian said, "I am a Communist. I cannot leave my position." Han Congjun was irritated and replied, "Ninth Squad Leader, you go down quickly. I'll take over. Although I'm not a Communist Party member yet, I believe I'm capable of becoming one!"

Excessive loss of blood caused Ma Wennian to turn pale and finally faint. But the words still came from his mouth, "I am a Communist. I cannot leave the battlefield."

"I gave everything to the party."

On 20 February, as a certain unit of ours advanced on Gan Tang [transliteration], they were intercepted by a fierce artillery barrage coming from the enemy making a stand at Hill 191, the "Great North Gate" of Gan Tang. The enemy was relying on strong fortifications and a commanding position looking down from a height in an attempt to block our advance. Our unit was pinned down at a lower place known as Hill 109, and the men faced the enemy on three sides. The Third Company received an order to immediately dispatch the 2nd Platoon's 5th and 6th Squads, as two separate units, from the company command post on Hill 109 in a frontal assault on Hill 191, about 500 meters distant.

Sixth Squad Leader Liu Shuqin [0491 2579 0530] and Assistant Squad Leader A Wu Ke Bu [7093 0063 0344 1580] led the soldiers of 6th Squad toward the enemy position slowly. The enemy concentrated all their firepower and the smoke of gunpowder arose everywhere, towering to the sky. A Wu Ke Bu and several other men braved intense enemy artillery fire, crawling forward in a zig-zag pattern. When they reached a relatively concealed place, A Wu Ke Bu said to his comrades-in-arms, "Right now the enemy is looking down on us from a height. Their firepower is ferocious, and our mission is extremely arduous. However, we are Communist Party members and Communist Youth League members. We must persevere and take this position on schedule. If the revolution requires martyrdom, the sacrifice is worth it."

A Wu Ke Bu was an Yi youth of noble stature who ordinarily worked very hard at his military training. He could throw a hand grenade a great distance with accuracy. After he tossed 13 hand grenades in succession

at the enemy position, his foes cried out. He and his comrades-in-arms availed themselves of the pervading vapor and mist to rush the enemy position. A Wu Ke Bu led the charge, fighting as he shouted, "Party members, Youth League members, the time for the party to test us has arrived. Charge! Charge!"

Just as he fearlessly charged into the first line of enemy trenches, A Wu Ke Bu was suddenly hit by a bullet and knocked to the ground. Liu Shuqin, who happened to be nearby, came running and bandaged his wound. A Wu Ke Bu was agitated and said to him, "Squad Leader, I haven't completed the mission given to me by the party. Don't bother with me. Seizing this position is necessary. Hurry and lead our comrades in their charge!" Liu Shuqin, with warm tears in his eyes, said, "Don't worry. Our comrades have already reached the top. The position is already under our feet." A trace of a smile appeared on A Wu Ke Bu's pale face, and he spoke in a feeble voice at intervals, "Squad Leader, I'm not going to make it. Don't feel bad. Tell the party organization that I gave everything to the party!"

NCNA Correspondents Yu Jianhua [0151 1696 5478] and Xu Liyang [1776 4539 7122] NCNA Reporter Zhang Guangyou [1728 1684 0645]

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BORDER UNITS PREPARED; 9TH TANK COMPANY ACHIEVES MERIT

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 15 May 79 p 4

[Newsletter by ZINHUA reporter Dai Huang: "The First Test of Strength--Notes on the 9th Tank Company of a Certain Unit of the Guangxi Frontier Forces"]

[Text] When we arrived at the 9th Tank Company, which had just returned from victory, the meritorious tanks were parked majestically in a thickly wooded area. The company commander, 27-year-old Tan Jinde [6223 6651 1795] and several platoon leaders and tank commanders described for us the battle accomplishments of each tank in their self-defense through counterattack. In a tent next to the parked tanks, we interviewed the animated young tankers. It was they who, driving these tanks, had burst through layer after layer of enemy crossfire, and in 36 hours, supported five infantry attacks, occupying positions in a series of villages and several tens of hilltops, killing many of the enemy and establishing outstanding merit.

The 9th Company achieved second grade merit collectively under fire, and many individuals achieved first grade merit. Through the heroic obstinacy of their own battle spirit and their flexible command skills, they provided that this young unit, taking part in battle for the first time, could be irresistible and invincible!

At dawn on 19 February, this company drove their tanks in an assault on a slope of more than 50 degrees at the border, after which a bloody battle broke out between Chinese and Vietnamese infantry at the three-point road intersection of Banyang [3804 3152] village. In order to allow our infantry to occupy the large and small hilltops in this area, 9th Company tanks followed closely behind those of the 7th Company and penetrated fiercely into the area east of Banyang, where the enemy's defenses were deep. By the time the enemy had recovered from their surprise and confusion, vehicles of the 7th Company had penetrated many kilometers, and the tanks of the 9th Company fell into the enemy crossfire. For a time the air over the highway was full of gunsmoke, and shell fragments whistled about. Company Commander Tan Jinde, who had been promoted from platoon leader only a month before, half opened the hatch of the command turret and looked out, tense but calm, to survey the enemy situation. He saw incessant fireballs accompanied by flashes of light coming from behind a bamboo grove, below an earthen mound,

more than 1000 meters away. He immediately ordered, "All units quickly develop mobile fire against enemy gun positions below the earthen mound forward and to the right! Show the revolutionary spirit, heroic obstinacy, and composed flexibility of the older generation."

The group of tanks that had been traveling along the road at high speed plunged into the rice paddies in response to the command, changed their shelter each time they fired, and sent shell after shell flying into the enemy position. When Tank Commander Zhu Nailu [2612 0035 4389] saw that the first shot from his tank fell in front of the enemy gun position, he immediately directed Gun Commander Gao Mingxun [7559 2494 0534] to "Advance! Change the range to 1200!"

"I understand! Changing range to 1200!" No sooner had Gao Mingxun, 22 years old and only 2 years ago a teacher in Yulin County middle school, Guangxi Province, answered his tank commander than the second shell hit right on. A cloud of thick smoke rose over the enemy position.

"Good shot!" Tan Jinde had right along been observing the movements of each tank and the locations of shell hits, and immediately ordered all of the tank cannon and machine guns to open fire and attack the enemy position. They advanced in attack more than 500 meters, destroying all of the enemy howitzer, cannon, anti-aircraft gun and anti-aircraft machinegun positions below the mound, and also collapsing a large cave to the side of the position. At this time, our infantry units also occupied the enemy's hilltop position.

These young tankers had exposed their cutting edge in their first battle, and reported victory in their initial engagement.

Having fought a victorious battle, their spirit was even higher, and without pausing even to drink a mouthful of water they pressed on toward a village more than a kilometer to the west. Arriving there they found that enemy mortars and machineguns were fiercely interdicting our infantry from an elevated position on a mound of yellow earth, blasting away all the brush and grass at the foot of the hill and filling the air with dust. Tan Jinde ordered all the tanks to plunge into the rice paddies and open fire, advancing by turns, and dust clouds rolled down the slope, the enemy fleeing in panic. Our infantry sprang up, aiming their machineguns and semi-automatic rifles with bayonets fixed, and charged up the hill. As they neared the slope, several enemy machineguns that had survived in their emplacements atop the hill began firing bursts at them. Tan Jinde yelled for all tanks to "excel in firing, and annihilate the enemy on top of the hill!" Shells from the tanks' cannon then arced right over the heads of our infantry and into the enemy fortification.

By evening the 9th Company, having won two victories in two battles, was ordered to continue westward and support an infantry battalion in attacking the enemy on a new hilltop.



In recalling the conditions of this night battle, Tan Jinde said that the night was dark with thick clouds, and visibility was very poor. The enemy that had been scared witless by our marauding tanks in the daytime hurriedly assembled six howitzers in front of a village at the side of the hilltop to establish an interdicting fire. But our tanks attacked without waiting for the enemy to build fortifications. When the first tank, carrying platoon leader Shi Tuning [2457 0956 2494] of the 3rd Platoon got to within 200 meters of the village, a howitzer concealed under a large banyan tree beside the road at the east side of the village opened fire. The company commander immediately ordered: "Company spread out quickly, and annihilate the enemy artillery." Several tens of guns on both sides opened up in a close duel, and in no time the flash from the cannon muzzles, the exploding shells, and tracers trails from countless machineguns and semiautomatic rifles lit up this narrow valley. Shi Tuning ordered the 3rd Platoon to attack down the highway, firing forward from the rice paddies on both sides. The tank of platoon leader Liang Guosheng [2733 0948 0524] came from back to front and attacked the banyan tree directly. The enemy artillerymen had no sooner loaded a round into their howitzer than Liang Guosheng's tank cannon was "nose to nose" with theirs.

"Press on through!" Liang ordered the tank driver.

The Howitzer that had been blocking the road was overturned by the roadside.

"Press on through!" platoon leader Liang ordered again.

The truck that pulled the enemy cannon was pushed into the river.

Suddenly, from a grassy slope several tens of meters in front of them came fireball after fireball--these were rifle grenades--which hit the tank with a "jian-jian" sound, fell to the ground and exploded. The target was too near, and the cannon and guns on the tank could not be used effectively. His wits working quickly in the emergency, Liang Guosheng and the cannoneers climbed half out of the command turret and the gun turret to fire at the enemy in the clump of grass with pistols and assault rifles, so that there were no more fireballs from that area.

Just as Liang Guosheng's tank continued forward, enemy rockets and recoilless rifles on both sides of the road attacked simultaneously, shells that hit the tank catching fire.

"Never mind them, plunge on through!" Liang Guosheng ordered.

By this time, they had plunged to where the slopes on both sides and in front of them were occupied by our infantry, already shouting "captured!"

In 2 hours of night fighting the close coordination of tanks and infantry had completely destroyed six enemy howitzers and occupied the village. Only then did Liang Guosheng lead his crew in putting out the fire on the outside of the tank.

"What were you thinking about at that time?" we asked this average lean-faced platoon leader.

The 10-year army veteran and graduate of the first middle school, Lianyan County, Hunan Province, said "Before this battle, my name was on the roster to be demobilized. My family certainly wanted me to return. My wife and 2-year-old daughter also wanted me to return, but I didn't return. I voluntarily asked to stay behind and take part in the self-defensive counter-attack. It was a matter of being driven to extremes. People have fired rifles and cannon at our border every day, killing who knows how many of us?! I still have my old mother, and I have my elder brother and his wife, and their children, and it is for them that I risk my life in combat, ~~let~~ to mention the other 800 million of our people!" What a big heart!

Tan Jinde entered the army in 1973, but he already understands what kind of example he should set to enable his troops to maintain their combat spirit at all times on the battlefield and how to be a commander.

On the second day of the battle orders arrived from headquarters, and they coordinated with infantry in rapidly breaking up the enemy's firepower blockade on three sides and supporting the infantry in their nighttime penetrations and occupation of nearly enemy hilltops, stabilizing the newly occupied positions. As the tank cannon mopped up the enemy's large and small hillside bunkers one by one, someone left a note in Liang Guosheng's tank:

"Comrades:

You have fought well! You are to be commended! We request that your merit be recognized!

The Infantry, 20 February"

After going through several connected battles, the comrades of the 9th Company had gone more than 100 hours without a good rest. Just as they were preparing to slow down for a breath, another order came from headquarters: the mission was to lead two platoons of tanks carrying a reinforced company of infantry in an attack on Shuojiang /2592 3068/ municipality, beat the enemy command center to a pulp, annihilate their active forces, and create conditions for our final assault and occupation of this key point.

The closer they got to Shuojiang, the tighter the enemy's defenses became, and the more soliders and weapons they had. Enemy heavy cannon, reckless rifles, rockets, and various kinds of machineguns opened fire, and the shells fell like rain. The combat spirit and command skills of the 9th Company were meeting an even tougher test.

"My tank has been hit and set afire by a rocket, and the gun commander has suffered a head wound," Zhu Nailu, commander of the point tank, reported.

"Put out the fire inside the tank, and attack from where you are," answered the company commander.

Tank Commander Zhu Nailu resolutely carried out the company commander's order, took over for the wounded gun commander, and put five rounds in a row into one of the enemy's caves, making the cave belch forth clouds of grey smoke; those enemy who had not been killed crawled out from under the smoke cloud intending to dig in, instead falling one by one under Zhu Nailu's machinegun fire.

At this time Tan Jinde cleverly directed a part of his tank group to open fire from the rice paddies on both sides, suppressing the fire of the enemy on the hilltop, while the other part rapidly advanced into Shuojiang. Liang Guosheng, ignoring the fire started by a hit on the rear of his tank, advanced and fired simultaneously, crushed two enemy bunkers in succession, and struck directly at the enemy Heguang /3109 1684/ County Committee. One by one the tanks plunged in, driving the enemy in confusion up to the surrounding hilltops.

The command tank carrying Company Commander Tan Jinde fired several tens of shells and more than 1,000 rounds of machinegun ammunition, took a hit on one of the external oil tanks that caught fire, blowing thick smoke and flames into the gun turret, and still they kept fighting until dark, when the whole company victoriously completed the mission.

Except for platoon leader Liang Guosheng, who has just turned 30, these heroes are all young men of 21-22 to 26-27, raised in peacetime. However, when the country needs them, like the old revolutionary generation on past battlefields, they care nothing for their safety and are militantly stubborn. In battle, they not only exhibited an invincible heroism, but also worked out a proficiency at joint combat operations by tanks and infantry. They are unabashed to be our army's new generation.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### HEROIC EXPLOITS OF SHANDA IN BATTLE WITH VIETNAMESE RECOUNTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Apr 79 p 3

[Profile by NCNA reporter Zhang Guangyou [1728 1684 0645] "The Hani Eagle--Shanda [1472 6671] Deputy Commander of Company 2 of a Unit of the Yunnan Frontier Forces"]

[Text] The sound of guns on the battlefield was very intense. Shanda--deputy commander of Company 2 of a unit of the Yunnan Frontier Forces and a quiet 24 year-old Hani youth--suddenly changed into a different person, exuding alertness and courage.

It happened on 18 Feb. A unit of our Frontier Forces was advancing towards the enemy's Gantang [2674 4743]. Near Zhoudeng [0719 4098] they ran into a delaying action of concentrated fire from the firebases of the mountain defense system's point of support on Hill 387 and were pinned down in a depression near some open ground. It was early morning and the woods were filled with mist so for a while they couldn't make out the location of the enemy's fire bases. To quickly make out the enemy's situation and take Hill 387 became a problem involving the actions of the entire company. At this critical moment, Shanda led a "sharp knife platoon" up.

The sharp knife platoon split into squads and took a roundabout route through the woods to a nameless hill about 100 meters from Hill 387. Shanda and several soldiers were at the very front. The enemy continuously fired at them with machine guns, hand grenades, 60 mm cannon and bazookas. The gunsmoke was dense and fire filled the air. When Shanda had led everyone to a spot about 20 meters away from an enemy trench, a dozen hand grenades were thrown at them. A hand grenade landed right in front of Shanda. He quickly rolled away and lay down in a low damp place. Then another group of hand grenades came flying. One landed less than 3 meters away from him. There was the roar of repeated explosions on the battlefield. Not far behind Deputy Commander Shanda, soldier Li Songlong [2621 2646 7893] who was lying on the ground lifted his head. He could see that a crater appeared where the deputy commander had been, the grass was covered with dirt, and Shanda's military cap was beside the crater. The enemy's machine guns continued their sweeping fire while hand grenades rained over, but



there was no trace of Shanda. Li Songlong hurried back to the company command post and reported: "The Deputy Commander has been killed!"

Everyone at the command post was saddened to hear this news--such a good deputy commander!

At this time the enemy gunfire suddenly became more intense. One of our soldiers in the trench was violently spraying the enemy with a tommy gun. Company Commander Ye Fucal [5509 4395 2088] rubbed his eyes and pointed: "Hey, look! Isn't that the Deputy Commander?"

[It is!] "It's him! It's him!" The unexpected discovery cheered everyone and they began to shout unanimously, "The Deputy Commander has charged ahead of us."

What had happened was that Shanda had pressed himself very close to the ground so that the enemy hand grenade didn't harm a single hair. But the exploding grenade was so close that it stunned him and he was covered by the dirt thrown up by the explosion. Taking advantage of the dense smoke from the grenade, he lay on the ground and continued to throw hand grenades at the enemy position. After two large bangs, the enemy machine gun fell silent. He seized the opportunity to jump up and with several bounds charged the enemy trench spraying them with fire from his tommy gun. The enemy was startled by this sudden attack and fled carrying their wounded and dragging their dead. From the trench, Shanda fired at their backsides until his tommy gun was empty; then he picked up the machine guns and bazooka dropped by the enemy and continued firing. He fought in the enemy position alone for over 10 minutes. His courage had overcome the enemy.

A nameless hill, the forward position of Hill 387 held by an enemy reinforced squad, was taken by the "sharp knife platoon." The follow-up force quickly came up and occupied the position ready to take Hill 387, to clear the path for our army to advance.

There were two ring-shaped trenches on Hill 387. Inside were 3 bunkers and 12 fire points connected by communications trenches, so the entire hill formed a complete fire power network. The equivalent of a company was holding the hill.

The battle to take Hill 387 began at 2:00 pm. Shanda led one platoon and Huitong [2585 0681] another. Under cover of fire from our nameless hill they went around to the left and right.

The gunfire from the fire points on the enemy-held hills on three sides was fierce. The dense bullets chopped down the grass and shrubs. The situation didn't look good for our side. Shanda coolly directed everyone to advance under cover. The battle was ferocious. The bazookaman was wounded, so Shanda picked up the bazooka and fired at the enemy. The signalman was wounded so he put the walkie-talkie on his back and fought as he gave orders.

He still was at the very front. Sometimes he crept forward on all fours under the cover of our fire; sometimes he intentionally exposed himself to draw the enemy fire and cover the forward attack of his comrades. He went back and forth through the rain of bullets now hidden, now visible, his movements so quick and daring there's no way of knowing how many times he almost met his death. One time, one of the enemy was about to shoot at him with a bazooka, but he caught a glimpse of it and immediately ducked backwards--the shell went over his head. A hand grenade hit his body and he kicked it away.... His comrades in arms were all in a sweat for him, but this military athlete who excelled at overcoming obstacles and mechanical control used all the military technical ability and toughness which ordinarily is learned through diligent study and hard training.

Fifty meters, thirty meters, twenty meters, ten meters... on this hilly, overgrown, bullet-ridden battlefield, this was such difficult progress! Making twists and turns, once again it was Shanda who was the first to make his way to the enemy trenches. The enemy was so terrified they didn't know what to do--some hand grenades were thrown without the pins being pulled. Shanda bravely charged the trench, fired one burst of bullets and three enemy soldiers near the machine gun fell with a cry. He seized the opportunity to jump into the trench. The soldiers behind him shouted: "The Deputy Commander has charged in!" "Charge, Comrades!" "Charge!" And one by one they charged the trench.

Shanda began fierce "street fighting" in the trench with the enemy. Just as he was driving out the enemy, another enemy soldier hidden in a cubbyhole in the side of the trench suddenly shot at him. A bullet grazed Shanda's leg. He quickly jumped out of the trench and the next time the enemy soldier in the cubbyhole fired, he threw a couple of hand grenades into the trench and the enemy soldier was killed. He immediately jumped back into the trench and with the help of his comrades battled from the outer trench to the inner trench and pressed on the enemy's central fortification.

The enemy at concealed fire points on hills nearby began to fire when they saw we were about to take Hill 387 and did their best to hold this position. Where were the enemy's fire points? If they could be found they could be hit. Everyone began to grow anxious.

At just this time Li Youngwu [2621 3057 0124] leader of the Fourth Squad dragged a captive out of a cubbyhole in the trench. Shanda figured that this fellow certainly knew very well the distribution of their fire points and that they could learn the disposition and facilities of the enemy fire points from him. He determined to interrogate him right there in the trench. The little Vietnamese he had learned before the battle, such as "We treat captives well" and "Hand over your weapons or we'll kill you" were insufficient. Using his finger, Shanda quickly drew in the dirt a picture of a heavy machine gun and made a noise imitating it.

The captive nodded his head indicating that he understood. With his hand he pointed them out to Shanda one by one. Then Shanda drew a picture of a 60 mm cannon and went "Boom! Boom!"

Once again the captive nodded his head and pointed out several grassy areas on the hills.

They now knew where the enemy's concealed fire points were. Shanda quickly reported this to the higher echelon using the walkie-talkie. There was a violent barrage and the enemy's secret fire points were destroyed one by one.

In 40 minutes of fierce battle, our sharp knife company had taken Hill 387, killed over 50 of the enemy, wounded several dozen and captured a large group of weapons and ammunition.

The enemy lost his support point and each base of the entire mountain defense system quickly crumbled under attack from our heavy artillery. The gate for our advance was opened. The large units of our army rushed straight in towards Gantang.

In a position on a hill on the banks of the Red River, when this reporter saw this wise and courageous hero he had been promoted to commander of Company 2. He was not tall, but he was sturdy, with a pair of lively flashing eyes in his round face. He had that fierceness characteristic of young Hani wrestlers. He had led the sharp knife unit in seizing the nameless hill and Hill 387 and opened the road for the unit to advance. On Hill 387 alone he and his comrades killed over 50 of the enemy, captured 2 enemy soldiers and seized a large quantity of arms and ammunition. But in the battle, he himself had suffered only a single wound when his leg was grazed by an enemy bullet.

This young man from Menghai [051B 3189] County in Yunnan was just 19 when he joined the army in 1973. The day he left his hometown it was like a festival day in the village. His fellow villagers and relatives all gave him an enthusiastic send-off. His relatives clapped him on the shoulder and patted him on the back as one by one they instructed him: Don't forget the blessings the socialist motherland has brought to the Hani people, fight for the glory of the Hani people, fight for the motherland!

Shanda has not been unworthy of the expectations of the villagers and kinsmen of the banks of the Mekong River. In battle, he spread his wings like an eagle. To honor his contribution, his unit's leadership has conferred on him a first-class merit.

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## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### TANK COMPANY WINS MERIT IN VIETNAM OPERATIONS

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 May 79 p 4

/Newsletter by XINHUA correspondents Zhou Fen, Li Hongchang, and Duan Jianxun: "How They Write Their Own History--Notes on the 8th Company of a Certain Unit of the Frontier Forces That Won the Collective First-order Merit During the Self-defense Counterattack"

/Text/ Every man has his own history, and every revolutionary youth hopes his history is bright red.

The 8th Company of a certain unit of frontier forces in Yunnan is a heroic unit with a glorious history. Most companies have their own glorious pasts, and some have honorary names. The 8th Company alone was newly organized, so there was not a single page to its combat history, and they hadn't one award banner. On the eve of the counterattack against the Vietnamese aggressors, representatives of the 8th Company loudly swore at a pledge meeting, "We have no combat history and no reputation, so we'll create them for ourselves! We will certainly write a good first chapter to our company history!"

People praised the revolutionary determination of the 8th Company, but they were also concerned about whether these soldiers going on the line for the first time would be able to write a good history for themselves in combat. The 24-year-old company commander, Yuan Jun /5913 6511/, is the son of an "old eighth route army" veteran. His father had been the political commissar of the unit to which the 8th Company is subordinate. On the eve of the battle, his father wrote a letter, saying, "To be a commander, the most important thing is calmness, not to be afraid when in danger, to encounter situations without becoming flustered, to be good at making cool judgements and dealing with circumstances determinedly. Your actions must be responsible to the combat victory, responsible to the personnel of your whole company, you are not permitted any impatience, precipitous action, negligence...." This advice of a father sending his son into battle contains all the hope and concern of the older generation for the younger.

Yuan Jun and the comrades of the 8th Company know that the best response for themselves and for the country is not words written on paper, but actions.



On 17 February a certain unit of our Yunnan frontier forces quickly broke through the natural obstacle formed by the Red River, penetrated deeply and destroyed the enemy, and on that day when the 8th Company did everything possible in pursuit of combat, they were not committed to the battle. They were held in reserve, with the rear area "battle observers" at the command post. When these soldiers, who wanted nothing more than to win glory for the country and establish merit on behalf of the people, heard the sound of repeated rifle and artillery fire from the front and saw their fraternal companies wresting key points one after another from the hands of the enemy and capturing group after group of prisoners, they burned with impatience. However, on the second day, when they were given the mission of taking elevation of 154 from the enemy who occupied it, they displayed exceptional experienced calmness and quick wit. They cleverly used the cover of darkness and the advantageous conditions of the complex terrain to advance quickly to two elevations adjacent to elevation 154, and when daylight came they attacked bravely under cover of cannon fire, taking elevation 154 in only 3 minutes, winning the battle at the unfurling of their flag, and killing 30 of the enemy.

The 8th Company commanders who decided to write their own history began on the day they received their mission to digest the experience of the older generation and their instructions, to analyze themselves in detail, and to analyze the enemy in detail. They had an abundance of revolutionary enthusiasm, and were completely cool and reasonable. Company Commander Yuan Jun and Commander Zhou Huagu /0719 5478 0657/ climbed up an elevation and carefully observed the enemy fortifications and deployment of firepower, studied the special characteristics of the enemy's defenses, and studied the precious experience summarized by their fraternal units. The victory in the initial battle on 18 February particularly strengthened the courage and the confidence of the 8th Company commanders that they would win over the enemy.

Elevation 154, which was captured by the 8th Company, was a key shield protecting the Vietnamese army in Guliu and Baosheng. When this point was lost, the enemy had no dependable strategic position, so they were thrown into confusion. The 3rd Battalion, 192nd Regiment of the Vietnamese Huanglianshan /7806 6647 1472/ provincial guard, known as the "local snakes" for their cruelty and deceit, after being driven off elevation 154, risked their lives at 8 o'clock that evening to recapture it. At this time the enemy took advantage of conditions under which the area below the hill was dark and the peak was open, so it was easy to see us without change of exposing themselves, and slyly sneaked into the 8th Company's position. The 8th Company commanders had not closed their eyes for 2 days and 2 nights, but they were always alert and on guard in their trenches. When the enemy got to within a little more than 20 meters from the peak, they were discovered by the 8th Company sentries, so the enemy changed their infiltration to an attack in force. The enemy depended on their strength of numbers and force, and seeing that they were very near the peak, they charged fiercely on the 8th Company from three sides, yelling strangely.

The 8th Company commanders were angered by the strange shouts that abused their ears. A new Yunnan border soldier who came from a town on the Chinese-Vietnamese border also roared loudly and followed up by throwing three hand grenades out of the trench, blasting a pitiful cry from the enemy, then began a sweep with machinegun fire. When one leg of the gun mount was shot away, he held the red-hot barrel in his hands and continued firing. When the gun was hit by a stray bullet and could no longer be used, he snatched another machine gun out of the hands of an enemy and poured a rain of angry bullets on the enemy. Tibetan soldier Amula /7093 2606 2139/, son of a serf, had displayed this kind of determination at the pledge meeting on the eve of the battle: "I, Amula, take this oath before everyone, that I will win at least second class merit in the battle to defend the country!" When the battle to occupy this elevation started, it was he who planted the banner of the assault platoon on the peak. At that time, this soldier who ordinarily doesn't talk much displayed the nature of a hero, bracing his feet against the wall of the trench to raise his body and fire fiercely at the enemy. In the heat of the struggle, one enemy leaped in to the trench, landing right on top of Bu Xinghua /0592 5281 5478/, a soldier of the cooking squad. Bu Xinghua extended his two hands like tongs, caught the enemy by the collar, and threw him out of the trench with a shout. The battle continued fiercely, and the longer it went on, the braver the commanders of the 8th Company became.

The enemy's first attempt to win back the hill was shattered. The 8th Company cadres utilized this respite to visit the troops at various places on the hill. When Company Commander Yuan Jun asked how the 2d Platoon was doing, platoon leader Luo Yinghua /5012 2503 5478/ answered from the trench: "We will never forsake the mandate of the country or the hopes of the people. We will beat the enemy even if we have to stab him with bayonets, beat him with rocks, or bite him with our teeth!" Third Platoon leader Liu Sirong /0491 1835 2837/ went to the 8th Squad, established in a solitary defense, and 8th Squad leader Wei Shuliang /7614 2885 5328/ said: "As long as there is one man left in the 8th Squad, we will not lose 1 inch of this 50-meter position!"

The battle started again in the dark of night. The enemy, who had tasted bitterness, did not dare shout indiscriminately when they counterattacked, nor did they dare infiltrate. They cut a path with closely concentrated artillery fire, and they employed poison gas. As the time drew out, the battle grew fiercer. The 8th Company's heavy weapons were all put out of action, the 2d Platoon would soon be out of ammunition, and some of the comrades had been sacrificed. Still the commanders enthusiastically defended every inch of the position. The soldiers who had suffered wounds, concealing their hurt, fought like everyone else. By dark, it was not easy to discover the casualty situation. The company cadre asked several times, "Have you casualties or not?" But no one ever made a sound. After Bai Jinlin /4101 6651 2651/, a soldier of the 6th Squad, was wounded in both legs and could not stand up to fire, he crawled into the trench and loaded cartridges for his comrades. Deputy squad leader of the mortar squad Zhou Chuanming /0719 0278 2494/ had his right kneecap broken by shrapnel, but he hopped on one

leg and continued firing. When he was out of shells, he hopped into the 6th Squad's trench and threw hand grenades at the enemy. After 9th Squad leader Ma Wenjin /7456 2429 6930/ was wounded, he supported his body and crawled out of the trench, used hand grenades to blast down the enemy right in front of an insanely sweeping machinegun, then crawled back into the trench and continued fighting.

The young 8th Company, a heroic collective. When the light of dawn penetrated through from the east on 19 February, after a night of bloody fighting, the 8th Company had shattered the enemy's ninth and last attempt to recapture the position. The Vietnamese army hastily hauled away six truckloads of their comrades' corpses, crawling away from under the feet of the 8th Company. On the afternoon of that day, our forces came down the hill and directly captured Guliu and Baosheng, fighting a clean and skillful war of annihilation. In this battle the 8th Company established first class collective merit. By their own heroic accomplishments they realized the oaths they took on the eve of the battle, and wrote a red first chapter to the company history they had just begun.

9284

CSO: 4005

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### FEATS OF ZHUANG SOLDIER IN CLASH WITH VIETNAM EXTOLLED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 25 Apr 79 p 5

[Abridged article by Jiang Qingzhao [1203 1987 5128] and Zhou Shouxiang [0719 1108 4382], Xinhua reporters: "A Good Son of the People of the Zhuang Nationality--Notes on Tan Yizhong [6009 3015 1813], the daring hero"]

[Text] When making combat evaluations, the chief of staff of a certain regiment of the Guangxi Frontier Guards proposed to the party committee to look for a "skinny youngster." He said that the "skinny youngster" was truly a hero in the battle for Liangshan!

He was referring to the violent battle on 1 March for the long plateau in the western suburb of Liangshan. The swift Qiqiong River flows on the south of the plateau, and the rocky cliffs named "Erxingdong" and "Sanxingdong" stand on the east. On the mountain were stationed a Vietnamese regimental headquarters and a battalion of soldiers, surrounded by reinforced concrete fortifications and circular trenches. It was the western defense of Liangshan. After our army launched the attack, the regimental chief of staff in the assault camp command post saw in his field glasses a "skinny youngster" carrying a submachine gun, charging up the mountain following the shells fired by our army. He would drop to the ground for an instant, then emerge out of the gun smoke, firing and charging simultaneously. He and several of his comrades-in-arms ascended the main cliff and suddenly vanished. Frowning, the chief of staff was breathless with anxiety. Suddenly, the youngster reappeared in the position in the east of the main cliff. Like a fine steed, he charged back and forth in the sea of fire, scattering one squad of the enemy, two squads, and repelling them.... For the greater part of the afternoon, he held firmly the position of the main cliff and produced an important effect on our army's prompt occupation and control



of the high point of the plateau and opening of the western entrance to Liangshan.

However, who was this soldier? He was not mentioned in any of the reports submitted by the various companies after the battle. As our soldiers all try to be first in combat, but none wishes to claim credit when it comes to appraising the merits, the deeds of the daring hero were not reported. Based on the clue furnished by the regimental chief of staff, the party committee searched for several days before discovering that it was assistant squad leader Tan Yizhong of the 2d squad, 1st platoon, 5th company.

Tan Yizhong, 23 years of age, is a young intellectual of the Zhuang nationality who joined the army 2 years ago. Of medium height and ruddy complexion, and with large bright eyes under bushy brows, he emanates courage and intelligence. He came from Lajiang village, Dajiang commune, Yongnan county, Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. After graduating from junior middle school in 1971, he volunteered to build the railroad in Dashan region. Later on, he enthusiastically joined the hydroelectric station and high tension wire projects in his hometown. He was determined to build a beautiful homeland with his diligent sweat and transform the fatherland. His fellow villagers praised him as a good youth of the Zhuang people. At this time, the Vietnamese aggressors committed a breach of faith, and stretched their devil's talons toward our country. Feeling a great weight on his heart, Tan Yizhong resolved to defend his fatherland and the four modernizations by bearing arms. He joined the army in 1977 and came to the frontier. On the eve of the self-defense counterattack, in his lectures to the members of the Communist Youth League and the young comrades-in-arms in the company, he indicated time and again: "We are the younger generation of our fatherland, and we have heavy responsibilities on our shoulders. We must not be unworthy of the education and training given us by the party and the people; we must not discredit our beloved fatherland and our heroic army!" In his written pledge and party membership application submitted to the company party branch, he wrote: "I may lose my life or shed my blood, but I will not give up one inch of the territory of the fatherland! .... I will offer my all to the party. Let the party and the people of the fatherland test me in the fire of battle."

In the afternoon of 1 March, the order to take the main cliff of the long plateau on the periphery of Liangshan before dark was issued. Crawling out of "Maoerdong," Tan Yizhong shouted: "Li Xingshang, follow me!" Together with his new comrade-in-arms who joined the army only in January this year, the two of them formed a combat group and charged up the mountain. Unable to see the hidden enemies, all he heard was gunfire, shells whistling by his ears. The mountain

paths after the rain were slippery. Falling down and getting up, and ignoring the bruises and cuts, he grasped the tree branches and grass to climb upward. After the shells fired by our army exploded on the mountain, the two of them immediately charged into the first line of trenches. The enemies, hiding in the fortifications from the shelling, were taken by surprise by such speed. Strafing with his submachine gun, Little Tan threw the enemies into confusion in no time, killing and injuring them. The remnants fled up the mountain top. They approached the second line of trenches. Enemy machine guns rattled and shells dropped at their feet. They managed to pin down two enemy squads, but some of their comrades-in-arms were injured or killed. With fire in his eyes, Little Tan leaped up and fired in bursts, and eliminated the enemy's firing point. He and four of his comrades-in-arms ascended the main cliff.

At this time, the enemies on the west slope began to counterattack. The leader of the 2d squad led a combat group to meet the enemies. Discovering enemy soldiers on the east slope, Little Tan took Li Xingshang there to fight them. Two enemy soldiers hiding in the trenches, one with a bazooka and another with a submachine gun, took aim at Little Li. "Take cover; don't move!" Little Tan ordered Little Li to lie down in the bushes, while he himself crawled into the trenches, silently approached from behind, and killed them with a burst of his submachine gun. Picking up the enemy's submachine gun and slinging it over his shoulder, he turned around to shout for Little Li. Hearing no response, he searched for him, but failed to find him. Jumping into a hole in the ground, he saw a large pile of No 60 shells. It looked like an enemy artillery position. When he was about to crawl out, he heard Vietnamese soldiers chattering on the slope below. Immediately, six enemy soldiers charged up, followed by a large contingent....

At this time, Little Tan was all by himself, with two submachine guns and four hand grenades. It was rather difficult to hold the 100- to 200-meter wide mountain position against so many enemy soldiers. However, he recalled his determination before the battle: "When the person is here, the position remains; when I am here, there is no enemy!" He thought of the heroic image of 4th squad leader Zheng Zhian, a superior Communist Party member who often helped and taught him--how he singlehandedly eliminated successively three enemy bunker firing points in the battle day before yesterday. Immediately, he was filled with strength in his entire body. Placing the two submachine guns on a ridge, he took out the four grenades, twisted open the caps, and held them in his hands. The enemies were only 40 meters, 30 meters, from him. Hiding in a hole behind a big tree, he remained motionless. The enemies crawled out of the communication trench and strutted up the main cliff. They were only 15 meters

away. He pulled the strings on the two grenades in his right hand, silently counted the time--1 second, 2 seconds, and threw them with all his might. The grenades exploded the moment they hit the ground and killed three enemies. The remaining enemies fled down the mountain in great disarray.

Wiping the sweat and dirt from his face, Little Tan continued to make combat preparations. He loaded the submachine guns with one clip of shells, placed the remaining grenades on the ridge, and concentrated on observing the movements of the enemies. This time, the enemies were more cunning. Possibly they had discovered that there was only one PLA soldier on the mountain. They divided themselves into two routes, each consisting of one squad, and truculently closed in on the mountain. Little Tan pondered the tactic. The image of daring hero Wang Cheng in the film "Heroic Sons and Daughters" flashed through his mind. He resolved to fight the way Wang Cheng did. Low on ammunition, he seized an opportunity to leap out of the hole, took two grenades from an enemy corpse, and returned to the hole.

In no time, the two routes of enemies both arrived. All armed with submachine guns, they fired all at once. The shells rained on the ground, and Little Tan's first aid kit tied to his satchel was knocked off. Observing the two routes of enemies closely, he tried to decide which one to attack first. He saw the enemies of the frontal route, not protected by fortifications, were visible and easy to handle, but those of the route on the flank, approaching stealthily along the communication trench, were more dangerous; therefore, he decided to tackle the latter first. When they were less than 20 meters away, the two Vietnamese plastic hand grenades in his right hand flew out and knocked down three enemies. Turning around, he picked up a submachine gun and fiercely strafed the enemies in the frontal route. After two enemy soldiers in front were knocked down, those behind still wanted to continue the charge. Suddenly inspired, Little Tan, unknown to the enemies, shifted his position by leaping into another hole 2 meters away. Taking aim, he knocked them down one after another, and shifted his position again. Thrown into confusion, the enemies were either killed or wounded, and the remnants crouched in the bushes, afraid to move.

Just when the fighting was tense, the enemies of the route on the flank charged. When they were only 20 meters away, he roared angrily: "See if you still dare to come!" Raising his hand, he knocked down several enemy soldiers in front with a hand grenade. Immediately, he picked up the submachine gun and fiercely strafed them, routing them in disarray.

At this time, he discovered that he had only half a clip of shells and the last grenade. Yet the enemies of the frontal route, under cover of machine gun fire, again charged. "Immobilize the enemy's machine gun first!" After two rounds of shells, he failed to hit the target. He must use the last hand grenade! Without hesitation, he threw it and blew up the gunner as well as the machine gun stand. Losing the machine gun cover, the enemies fled down the mountain in panic.

It was getting dark. The gunfire on the west slope continued, and so did that on No 4 plateau. Li Xingshang had not returned, nor did his other comrades-in-arms. They were probably engaged in fierce and courageous combat. Little Tan pondered and observed simultaneously. He discovered 16 or 17 enemies, driven by an officer, again charged up the mountain. He was out of grenades and had only half a clip of shells left. At this critical moment, he resolved to risk his life against the enemies. Suddenly he heard someone calling from behind: "Assistant squad leader of the 2d squad, I am here!" Little Tan wheeled around, and it was 1st squad leader Wu Yaojian who had rushed to his aid. Overjoyed, he said: "First squad leader, I shall follow your instructions. Let us fight together. We must not lose the main cliff!" The 1st squad leader brought with him 4 hand grenades and 1 submachine gun. With one of them throwing the grenades and the other firing, they shattered the enemies' final assault and held the main cliff!

Darkness enveloped the mountain. The sound of guns on the long plateau ceased. One regimental headquarters and one battalion of the enemy were wiped out. The powerful artillery fire of our army fiercely bombarded Liangshan city.

The young Zhuang soldier, Tan Yizhong, rendered first class meritorious service to the fatherland and became a member of the glorious Chinese Communist Party.

On 7 April, Comrade Wang Shoudao, assistant leader of the Central Comforting Group, received Tan Yizhong and praised him by saying: "Excellent! You are a good son of the Zhuang people; you are a daring hero defending the fatherland! We of the older generation admire you; the young people of the entire country must learn from you."

6080

CSO: 4005



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### HEROIC ACTS IN CONFLICT WITH VIETNAM LAUDED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 3 Apr 79 p 4

[Newsletter by XINHUA NEWS AGENCY reporters Guo Diancheng /6753 3013 2052/ Jiang Liuchu /1203 2692 0443/ and Zhao Chunwu /6392 4783 2976/: "When the Motherland Is in Need"]

[Text] The guns on the Chinese-Vietnamese frontier have been silent for some time, but the revolutionary heroic spirit of the commanders of our frontier units in dedicating their lives to their motherland has become more and more widely known. It has become the source of a great spiritual force for encouraging our people to embark on socialist modernization construction and national defense.

"How adorable are these warriors! They give their lives to the motherland." As your reporters were covering the war front at Kao Ping /Cao Bang 7559 1627/, the combat commanders were often heard making such remarks when they talked about the heroic acts of their warriors.

On 17 February, the "Sharp Knife Company" was under enemy attack when it penetrated to the rear of the enemy force. Under concentrated fire, company leader Li Sibao /2621 0934 0202/, wielding his pistol, was ahead of his men in the foremost front. Enemy bullets hit his waist belt and wounded his right hand and left leg. With no regard for his wounds and bleeding, he swung his arm and shouted: "Comrades, charge ahead!" He continued to lead his company to forge ahead. The warriors were equally brave. Squad leader Chen Lianfang's /7115 6647 5364/ arm was pierced by a bullet. He persisted in fighting until suppuration developed at the wound. His arm was so swollen that it could not bend, but he refused to leave the battlefield. New warrior Meng Zhouhua's /5536 3504 3478/ heel was hit, but he kept fighting for 15 days with surprising perseverance. The reason they refused to quit the fighting is: "This is the time the motherland needs me most!"

In the heart of our warriors, the interest of the motherland is above everything. During the battle of Nong Ya /1702 1090/, a platoon of a certain company captured Highland No 1 against fierce enemy fire, and paved the way for the advance of the main force. They crawled in a 1-foot deep ditch by the side of a highway. The enemy fire hit the dirt above their heads and the

shells exploded everywhere around them. Nobody stopped. The knapsacks on the backs of the warriors became targets. Almost everybody's knapsack was hit. Each step of advance under the heavy rain of enemy fire took an unlimited amount of the loyalty of our warriors to the motherland and the people. The warriors advanced not just 1 or 2 meters, but 80 meters. How much bravery and strength it took!

The Communist Party members set good examples of dedicating their lives to the motherland. Platoon leader Guo Yunglo /6753 3057 2867/ is such a Communist Party member. The platoon he led was a "Sharp Knife" platoon. His platoon was so named because it was granted a glorious war mission by the company and battalion commanders at Guo's repeated request on behalf of his fellow warriors. On the first day of counter-attack, this platoon scored a victory and won a collective merit of first class. In the battle for a mountain pass, the Guo platoon was still designated as a "Sharp Knife" platoon. In the fight for Highland No 1 controlled by the enemy, Guo Yunglo was hit on the head. As his fellow warriors rushed to him to cover his wound with a bandage, he ordered: "Don't mind me, follow me!" He and his men finally captured Highland No 1.

The enemy counter-attacked desperately. Scores of shells fell on the highland. Guo's two legs and left hand were wounded, and his head was hit again. He lost consciousness. As soon as he regained consciousness, he called Communist Party member Tao Bingming /7118 3521 2494/, leader of Squad 3, to his side and asked Tao to take over the command of his platoon. Seeing him soaked in blood and short of breath, Tao said painfully: "Platoon leader, don't talk any more. I understand." Guo Yunglo insisted on talking, saying: "We are all Communist Party members. Now the party is testing us." He asked how was his platoon deployed, and instructed: "Use the main weapon to overcome and destroy the enemy firing center. Other members of the platoon should hurry up to dig in for defense." After he uttered these words, he lost consciousness again. When the field observer reported that the enemy showed signs of readiness for a counter-attack, Guo suddenly woke up. He called all the Communist Party members of his platoon to his side and told them: "This is a strategic path our main force will have to go through. Guard it! It is the key to winning this battle. As long as there is one man left, this position must be secured. If we cannot lead the masses to victory, of what use are we Communist Party members!" With his trembling hands, he handed over 300 bullets and 8 handgrenades to his men. He kept one hand grenade for himself. He wound the string of his last hand grenade around his finger, indicating his readiness to defend his position to death. The warriors took the bullets from Guo, and tears came from their eyes as they looked at Guo's face which had turned pale because of excessive bleeding. Then the party members led the warriors back to their respective posts. Guo's words, "As long as the defender survives, his post should survive," became the dictum for every warrior. They beat back the enemy counter-attack five times. Communist Party member Guo Yunglo sustained severe pain, continued to direct the fighting for 5 hours, and refused to be carried away for medical treatment until the fighting came to an end. What heroic conduct!

When our warriors were called upon by their motherland to attack, they overwhelmed the enemy everywhere. When they were called upon by their motherland to defend a position, they did not give up an inch of land. When the war situation dictated that they should obey orders to win the war, they self-consciously disregarded their personal interest. In Squad 5, Company 4, of a certain frontier defense unit, there were 11 living Qiu Shaoyuns /6727 1421 0061/. They were so self-consciously obedient to the need of the war situation.

On 20 February, Company 4 thrust like a sharp knife to Highland No 312 at Kou Tun /2099 1470/, 5 kilometers west of Kao Pin. In preparation for annihilating the enemy force at Kou Tun at an appropriate time, Squad No 5 was ordered to guard a mountain peak on the left of the highland. The mountain is located at a highway junction, controlling the access to Highland No 312 and overlooking the enemy in the front. Scarcely before they dug in, the enemy attacked. They were bombarded with machine guns and artillery pieces. Squad leader Yin Shihxiu /2009 1102 4423/ calmly told his men around him: "Our mission is to wait for the right time to annihilate the enemy. They are testing our strength. Don't fall for their scheme!" Then the enemy hit the mountain peak with incendiary bombs. Aided by wind, the fire spread fast. Yin Shihxiu's cap caught fire. He disrengarded that and said to his fellow warriors: "Never expose ourselves lest our battle plan be ruined." The warriors responded that they would emulate Chiu Shaoyun and persist to the end for winning the war.

The blaze became stronger and stronger. The missile operator was perspiring profusely. A bullet brushed his shoulder and blood gushed out. He set his teeth firmly and stayed motionless. The knapsack on the back of morale booster Cui Yunnan /1508 6663 0589/ caught fire, and the wooden handle of a hand grenade hanging on his waist belt was chipped by a bullet. Fearlessly and calmly he told his friends: "To persist to the end means victory." The fierce fire got closer and closer to the warriors. They were baked by the heat. At their back there was a ditch 3-4 meters deep which could separate the men from the fire. But it was not easy to watch the enemy from the other side of the ditch. In the interest of the war situation, the brave warriors of Squad 5 sustained the smoke and the fire without moving to the other side of the ditch. The fire lasted more than an hour. Several warriors of Squad 5 suffered burns. Anyway, they overcame the fire eventually. When the attack started, they rushed down the mountain and, in coordination with the main force, captured Kou Tun and annihilated the enemy troops.

When the motherland is in need, our warriors fight this way. Should we not fight with the same spirit when the motherland is in need?

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CSO: 4005

## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### PUBLIC ORDER MEASURES EXPLAINED, POPULAR SUPPORT URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 5 Apr 79 p 2

[Excerpts of Article by Wang Jian [3769 7003], vice chairman, Shanghai Municipal Revolutionary Committee, concurrently director, Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau: "Firmly Maintain Public Order, Safeguard Construction of Socialist Modernization"]

[Text] Since the shattering of the "gang of four," under the kind attention of the Party Central Committee and State Council, and under the leadership of the municipal party committee and the municipal revolutionary committee, Shanghai's political and economic situation has been very good. Having gone through the efforts of 1978, especially after the Central Committee's and municipal party committee's instructions on the reconstruction of rural and urban public security and order were carried through completely during the latter half of last year, public security conditions have further improved.

After the Third Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee, in order to transfer smoothly the emphasis of the party's work toward the construction of socialist modernization, all the battle fronts in the entire city carried forward democracy, liberated thinking, took concrete measures to insure fulfillment of policies, dealt with historically remaining problems, marshaled all positive factors, and obtained great achievements. However, because the results created by the long period of troublemaking and destruction of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" are very serious, many remaining problems cannot be solved in a short period of time. Quite a few problems can only be solved step by step on the basis of the development of production. Since the latter half of November of last year, a very small number of persons have purposely made unreasonable requests, started rumors to cause trouble, agitated crowds and created incidents. Extremely individualistic class enemies and criminal elements create more trouble in the midst of this confusion, destroying work order, production order and public order, thus affecting social and political stability. There is also a very small number of people with ulterior



motives who wave "democracy" and "freedom" banners, make reactionary speeches, print and distribute illegal propaganda material, use extremely reactionary languages to defame at will the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist system, slander party and government leaders, curse the Communist Party, and attack the dictatorship of the proletariat. Some of them even threaten to strike down the Communist Party, topple the socialist system and overturn the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Such illegal activities and criminal behavior naturally arouse strong resentment from the masses. The broad masses of the people angrily criticize these deliberate troublemakers as "black sheep," condemn those who fawn on foreigners as "national scum," and accuse those who put up reactionary slogans and wallposters of "edging toward counterrevolution." They clamor in great numbers for the adoption of effective measures to stop such illegal conduct and to put down the destructive activities of the very few bad reactionary elements.

In order to further guarantee normal work order, production order and public order, and to prevent certain disturbing phenomena, we have, with the approval of the municipal revolutionary committee and in accordance with the relevant documents of the CCP Central Committee and of the State Council, promulgated the "Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau's Notice." There are six articles for the regulation of such illegal behavior as stopping and obstructing traffic, intercepting trains, attacking offices, inciting trouble, putting up at will slogans and wallposters, and printing and selling reactionary or pornographic books and periodicals or photographs, etc. After promulgation of the "notice," the broad masses and public figures of every circle have expressed enthusiastic popular support, claiming that this should have been done long ago. They praise the "notice" as an important measure to guarantee people's democratic rights and to maintain public order. However, there are a few people who raise all sorts of criticisms against this "notice" and this is obviously wrong.

First, the "notice" was drafted in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and the laws. Its main contents were already clearly prescribed in our constitution and the laws. Article 8 of the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" specifies: "The state prohibits any person from employing any means to disturb social and economic order, sabotage state economic planning, embezzle or waste state or collective property, or endanger public welfare." Article 56 specifies: "Citizens must support the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, support the socialist system, uphold the unity of the motherland and the solidarity of all nationalities and observe the constitution and the laws." Article 57 stipulates: "Citizens must save and protect public property, observe labor discipline, observe public order, respect social morality, and safeguard national secrets. Article 2 of the "Regulations for the People's Police of the People's Republic of China" stipulates: "The duty of the

People's Police is, in accordance with the law, to punish counterrevolutionary elements, to prevent and stop other criminal elements' destructive activities, to maintain public order and security, to protect public property and citizens' rights and legitimate interests, to safeguard the people's democratic system, and to guarantee the smooth progress of national socialist construction." "Administrative and Punitive Regulations for Security in the People's Republic of China" has more concrete regulations on behavior against the administration of security and on ways of punishment. All this explains that the "notice" is based on the requirements of the present real struggle, reiterates the relevant provisions of the constitution and the laws, and reflects the popular wish of a large number of people. If we should allow a small number of people to behave as badly as they like, then this would certainly be a case of laws existent but unobserved, and of laws executed but not strictly, which violates the constitution and the laws.

Second, the basic starting point of the "notice" is to guarantee the democratic rights of the greatest majority of our citizens. We have historically advocated the practice of democracy for our people and of dictatorship for our enemies. We have also recognized that not practicing the socialist legal system will mean no possibility of guaranteeing socialist democracy. But the democracy that we want is the proletarian democracy. the democracy of the greatest majority, definitely not the capitalist democracy of the minority oppressing the majority. The several "prohibitions" stipulated in the "notice" are merely restraints against the conduct of a small minority encroaching upon the democratic rights of a large majority. At present, some people speak extravagantly of "democracy," actually their so-called "democracy" is based on the premise of encroachment upon the democratic rights of the large majority of people. If this type of "democracy" were allowed to develop, it would surely lead to a flood of anarchism and the destruction of social and political stability, and the four modernizations for socialist construction would become only empty words. Our people remember vividly and will absolutely not allow a repeat performance of the painful lesson from the flood of anarchism caused by the "kick open the door of the party committee and make revolution" of Lin Biao and the "gang of four".

Third, the "notice" embodies the obligations stipulated by the constitution that the public must meet. The constitution and the laws guarantee the democratic rights enjoyed by every citizen, while simultaneously requiring every citizen to meet necessary obligations. Rights and obligations form a unity and cannot be separated. There are some people who completely disregard the fact that what they say and do could cause much harm to the interests of the state and the collective bodies, and never consider what obligations they themselves should meet. This is wrong.

Actual practice has already confirmed that every provision of the "notice" is in accordance with the constitution and the laws, is completely correct,

and has, since its promulgation, already obtained good results. During this period, work order, production order, and public order all have taken a turn for the better. However, there is still a very small minority of people who persist in their mistaken position, opposing the provisions of the "notice" and continuing to instigate trouble. There are individuals who even openly put up extremely reactionary wallposters, leveling unrestrained allegations, and cruelly attacking party and state leaders. If this kind of confused phenomenon were not restrained decidedly but let free to develop, it will undoubtedly shake the foundation of socialist democracy and proletarian dictatorship, making it impossible to transfer smoothly the party's work emphasis to the construction of socialist modernization.

Following the spirit of the relevant documents of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, and in direct reference to the actual situation faced by Shanghai, we suggest the continuation of strengthened activities along the following lines:

1. Conscientiously study, propagandize and carry out the instructions of the Party Central Committee and State Council, and maintain social and political stability. Fully utilize newspapers and publications, radio broadcasts and television, as well as hold report meetings, forums and every other kind of meeting; raise citywide and penetrating popular movements for the study of central papers, municipal committee instructions, and for the propaganda, observance and enforcement of the "notice" to create a strong revolutionary public opinion. We hope that every ward, every department, including labor, youth and women's mass organizations and people of every circle, will closely coordinate to do good work.

We must continue to criticize the trampling on the socialist legal system by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," hit out strongly against the crime of anarchism, criticize "the more chaos the better" fallacy and purge its remnant poison and influence. As to recent cases of spreading of antiparty, antisocialist reactionary fallacies on the part of a very small number of people in the community, they should be seriously criticized.

2. Firmly enforce every article of the "notice" making it so that laws are there to be followed and must be followed, laws administered must be strict, and laws violated must be tried. Recommend that every local district, every department, every local unit administer regular education of managerial personnel, workers and residents to consciously observe every provision of the constitution, the laws and the "notice." At the same time, require them to conscientiously educate their children, not to believe in rumors, loiter and stare around, or join in noisy disturbances.

3. Strengthen the proletarian dictatorship, attack destructive activities of class enemies and criminal elements. There still are definitely in our

society counterrevolutionary elements individually antagonistic toward the socialist system, including those that carry out destructive activities such as murderers, arsonists, thieves, swindlers, those who beat, smash and loot and other criminal elements. Among them are also some "gang of four" elements who are undiscovered or who continue to persist in their reactionary position. They mingle with crowds, using all sorts of treacherous devices to fundamentally oppose the party, socialism, and proletarian dictatorship. We must depend on the public to uncover their plots and strike them down decisively.

4. Simultaneous with the firm enforcement of the "notice," we must also readjust completely public security and order within the entire municipality. There is a vast crowd of people, particularly the public security activists, who in the past have cooperated with public security organizations to strike down a very small number of bad persons, and made great contributions toward the maintenance of urban and rural public order. Henceforth, we will still have to depend on their strength to maintain public order. We must strengthen fire protection and safety work, tidy up traffic control, improve the city's appearance, relate directly to production and construction and to the life of the masses. We must make great efforts several times during the year and tirelessly persist in achieving outstanding results.

We believe in firmly executing Party Central Committee and State Council instructions, upholding party leadership, upholding the socialist road, upholding proletarian dictatorship, upholding Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. Under the leadership of the municipal party committee and municipal revolutionary committee, with the support and collective endeavors of the vast masses, we will definitely maintain normal work order, production order and public order, further promote social and political stability, in order to make greater contributions to the construction of Shanghai into an advanced industrial base, export base, and scientific and technological base.

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CSO: 4005



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### 'RENMIN RIBAO' COMMEMORATIVE ARTICLE ON HE LONG

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 6 Jul 79 p 3 HK

[Article by Li Da [2621 6671]: "Comrade He Long in Southwest"]

[Excerpts] This June 9th will be the 10th anniversary of the passing of Comrade He Long.

Between the first revolutionary civil war and the period of socialist construction, I worked under Comrade He Long's leadership in three different places for a total of more than 10 years. I will never forget his farsightedness and sagacity; his outstanding leadership and commanding ability; his noble quality as a man who kept the whole situation in mind, sacrificed his own interests for the sake of others and cared for and loved his fellow comrades; his style of being conscientious and careful, going deep into the realities of life, engaging in hard struggle and plain living and being unassuming and approachable; his warm and straightforward character; his largeness of mind--in short, his utter devotion to the party and the people.

After the victorious conclusion of the campaign to liberate the great southwest at the end of December 1949, Comrade Deng Xiaoping was appointed first secretary of the CCP Southwest Bureau and political commissar of the Southwest Military Area; Comrade Liu Bocheng was appointed second secretary of the CCP Southwest Bureau and chairman of the Southwest Military and Administrative Committee; and Comrade He Long was appointed third secretary of the CCP Southwest Bureau and commander of the Southwest Military Area. Afterward, I had another chance to work under Comrade He Long's direct leadership. Led by the Party Central Committee and the Southwest Bureau, Commander He Long made outstanding contributions towards liberating and developing the great southwest.

### Marching Troops Into Sichuan

When Chairman Mao and the Central Committee's military commission unleashed the campaign to liberate the great southwest, they assigned Comrade He Long and his troops to fight in coordination with the 2d Field Army led by

Comrades Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping, actively draw the Kuomintang's Hu Zongnan clique into the Qinling mountain area and keep them there until their retreat was blocked by the 2d Field Army, then quickly occupy northern Sichuan and Chengdu. Together with Comrades Li Jingquan, Zhou Shidi and others, Comrade He Long led the 18th Corps of the North China Field Army and the main force of the 1st Field Army to march southward from Shaanxi along three routes. The correct pacing of the troops' advance was the key to victory in this campaign. High-spirited, the commanders and fighters all hoped to hasten their advance to liberate the great southwest sooner. Comrade He Long patiently told his men: "This time, Chairman Mao had decided on the battle plan of moving up slowly before making a quick sweep. We must move slowly when we launch our attack from the north. Too much haste will alarm Hu Zongnan and scare him into running away. By the time his retreat is blocked by the army of Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping from the south, we can make a quick sweep.

At that moment, Hu Zongnan was wildly blowing his own trumpet, claiming that "guarded by three corps, the Qinling defense line is perfectly safe" and that "the communist troops have not made any breakthroughs after several fierce assaults on Qinling." At that same moment, however, Comrade He Long had already completed his deployment on the northern slope of Qinling, ready to break in, and was leading Hu Zongnan by the nose. It was only when our troops closed in on the Chengdu basin from the east, south and west that Hu Zongnan, as if awakening from a dream, hastily ordered his three corps to abandon the Qinling and Bashan defense lines and fled in the direction of Chengdu. However, he was already trapped.

Following Chairman Mao's instructions and seizing the opportunity for combat, Comrade He Long cleverly directed his troops to go in hot pursuit and finally wiped out the southward fleeing enemy in northwest Sichuan. In his report to the Central Committee and the Southwest Bureau, Comrade He Long said: "Following the strategic policy of moving up slowly before making a quick sweep, we have wiped out nearly 80,000 enemy troops at a minimum cost, precipitated the unexpectedly quick disintegration of over 260,000 remnant enemy forces, completely liberated northwestern Sichuan and successfully fulfilled our military task."

#### Reorganizing the Troops That Crossed Over

The Southwest Military Area was faced with the arduous task of reorganizing more than 900,000 captive Kuomintang soldiers who had crossed over to our side after the victorious conclusion of the campaign to liberate the great southwest.

Comrade He Long was in charge of the actual work under the leadership of the Southwest Bureau. After repeatedly analyzing and studying the conditions of the troops who had crossed over, he deemed that Liu Wenhui, Deng Xihou, Lu Han and a few others who had revolted sooner had greater influence in the southwest, and that it would help stabilize the situation if arrangements were made for them first. Hence, despite the many claims on his time,

he personally called on Liu Wenhui and Deng Xihou, frankly and sincerely explained to them our party's policy toward generals who had crossed over to our side, sought their opinions on our work in the southwest and warmly inquired about their families. They were deeply touched and were completely convinced by the CCP policies. They said that they would do more good things for the people under Chairman Mao's leadership. Comrade He Long also received the generals many times and did much work among them. He patiently persuaded those who still harbored illusions about the Kuomintang reactionaries. As for those who attempted to play on their influence and bargain with our party, he sternly admonished them not to shilly-shally, pointing out that their only way out was to submit themselves to the CCP's leadership, conscientiously remold themselves and work wholeheartedly for the building of the new China.

Comrade He Long was feared by the enemy and respected by our comrades because he was always brave, firm, cool and resourceful. His fame and prestige also played a considerable part in winning over and uniting the democratic personages and soldiers who had crossed over. Under the correct guidance of the principles and policies of the Party Central Committee and the Southwest Bureau and with the support of mass movements, our army fulfilled the arduous task of reorganizing the old-type soldiers within a short time and insured the smooth progress of all our party's work in the southwest.

#### The Cleaning Out of Remnant Bandits

Chiang Kai-shek had mapped out "emergency plans" for the southwest on the eve of liberation. Before we had firmly established our foothold, they colluded with the feudal forces, mustered the hardened bandits and disbanded soldiers, made use of feudal and superstitious organizations to coerce the masses by means of cold-blooded murder and incited counterrevolutionary rebellion everywhere. This resulted in a great strain on our work. At the end of March 1950, there were more than 1,000 bandit gangs with a total membership of 270,000 in the whole region. The number was rising. Thus, the struggle to clean out the remnant bandit agents became our central task in the southwest after liberation.

The Southwest Bureau and the Southwest Military Area promptly reported the situation to the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao and made deployments for the struggle to suppress bandits in accordance with the Party Central Committee's policy of "combining military suppression and political disintegration with mass action." Under the party's centralized leadership, the troops were told to energetically arouse and rely on the masses, form a broad revolutionary united front and quickly unfold the land reform and the movement to suppress bandits, oppose local despots, reduce rent and return deposits in conjunction with the collection of grain taxes and production.

Before proceeding with the suppression, Comrade He Long instructed the troops to make thorough investigations first. He also defied personal

safety and personally went to the lower levels to check on work and find out about the enemy's situation.

Comrade He Long also paid great attention to strengthening army discipline and strictly carried out the party's policy towards nationalities. He emphatically pointed out that since most of the big bandit gangs had their bases in the minority nationality regions where there were thickly-forested mountains, our ability to unite with the fraternal nationalities was of crucial significance in disintegrating the enemy and thoroughly wiping out the bandit agents.

In the struggle to suppress bandits, Comrade He Long and others instructed the troops to be flexible and change their tactics as the bandits changed theirs. In dealing with the big bandit gangs, the troops were to "counter big forces with big forces," launch a concerted attack from different directions after forcing a long march and go in hot pursuit. When the remaining bandits broke up and fled to the outlying hills, they were to "counter dispersion with dispersion" and split into units of companies, platoons and squads to track down and wipe out these bandits. In the meantime, they were to launch a powerful political offensive to thoroughly expose the lies and crimes of the bandit spies in various ways, suppress large numbers of bandit leaders who were guilty of heinous crimes and dispel the misgivings of the masses. Comrade He Long also urged the troops to actively take part in production, rescue, road construction and the building of water conservancy projects and energetically support the mass struggle for the reduction of rent and return of deposits. He led the government functionaries to take part in the rush repair of the Chengdu-Chongqing Highway. Through the struggle to suppress bandits, oppose local despots, reduce rent and return deposits, the masses of peasants obtained 7.5 billion catties of grain and increased their average income by 2 to 3 times. On this basis, our party carried out land reform in some places. This enabled our party and army to extend their political influence in the new area, heighten the masses' political awareness and mobilize and organize the 60 million peasants in the southwest for the first time.

### Marching Into Xizang

In January 1950, the Southwest Military Area accepted the glorious assignment of liberating Xizang. Acting in accordance with the instructions of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao, Comrade He Long personally planned and prepared for the march under the leadership of the Southwest Bureau. He repeatedly stressed: "In our present march into Xizang, there is no problem about defeating the enemy militarily. The important thing is to fight a successful political battle and unite with the people of various nationalities in Xizang. Whether or not we can move in and hold our ground hinges on our ability to conscientiously implement the party's policy toward nationalities and set a fine example in maintaining discipline in our relations with the masses. In short, we must attach primary importance to the implementation of the party's policy toward minority nationalities." He also encouraged the advancing units to learn the Tibetan language



and acquaint themselves with the customs and habits of the Tibetan people. Comrade He Long repeatedly held discussions with comrades who knew the situation in Xizang and listened to their opinions on questions of entry routes and supplies. He also gathered books and information about Xizang and studied them again and again. Comrades Deng Xiaoping and He Long emphatically pointed out: The peculiar economic, geographical and climatic conditions in Xizang will put new questions of food, clothing, shelter and transportation before the advancing units. It is therefore imperative to properly solve the problem of supplies. The military areas must set up special supporting agencies, since it is our policy to "put political affairs before military ones and supplies before combat."

Instigated by imperialism, Xizang's reactionary local government concentrated its main forces in Qamdo Prefecture and put up stubborn resistance when our army marched in. Following the instructions of the Party Central Committee, we fought the battle of Qamdo in October with the support of a cavalry detachment from the Northwest Military Area. After more than 20 big and small fights, our army destroyed the headquarters and main forces of the Tibetan army. A portion of the Tibetan army rose in revolt. Our victory in the Qamdo battle dealt a telling blow to the reactionary local government and precipitated its internal disintegration. At last, the Xizang government sent a delegation to Beijing for negotiations in February 1951 and signed the "17 point agreement" for the peaceful liberation of Xizang on 23 May. In accordance with the provisions of the agreement, the advancing units of the southwest and northwest military areas marched into Xizang on 25 May.

Here I would like to go into the question of the building of the Xikang-Xizang highway in particular. Following Chairman Mao's instruction that we must "defy difficulties and actively construct roads to help our fraternal nationalities" and insure supplies for the advancing units, the military area organized a large contingent of road builders from among members of engineering corps and the advancing units and resolved to build the Xikang-Xizang highway on the roof of the world during our army's march into Xizang. This was an extremely arduous task and had no precedent in the world history of highway construction. At that time the imperialists and reactionaries laughed at us and called it a mere "fantasy." Comrade He Long said with curt finality: "We must not only build the Xikang-Xizang highway, but also drive our cars all the way to Lhasa." While in Chongqing, he summoned the responsible comrades and engineering and technical personnel of road construction units for a meeting and together they studied the highway route and other specific problems. When the project started, he sent me to the worksite to supervise and check on the actual work and told me to report all problems to him in good time. The completion of this highway not only greatly facilitated the movements of the advancing units but played an important part in strengthening the southwestern frontier and developing the new Xizang.

With the energetic support of the people of the whole country, the advancing units conscientiously implemented the "17-point agreement" for the peaceful liberation of Xizang and joined forces in Lhasa on 20 December 1951. The peaceful liberation of Xizang enabled the millions of serfs to cast off the yoke of imperialist and reactionary rule and return to the embrace of the new China and brought about unification on the mainland. We will never forget Comrade He Long's painstaking labor in directing the march into Xizang.

#### The Movement Against the "Three Evils" and the Reorganization of Troops

Following the plan of the Party Central Committee, the Southwest Military Area conducted the movement against the "three evils"--corruption, waste and bureaucracy--and reorganized the troops in 1952.

Comrade He Long personally took a hand in the work as soon as the movement against the "three evils" began. He not only frequently went to the front-line to check on work and make investigation but asked leading cadres at all levels to go deep among the masses. He took the responsible comrades of concerned departments to the warehouses to look into the stockpiling and waste situation and personally went to some worksites to check on the quality of work. Within a very short time he had visited all the major units and warehouses in the military area.

In the later stage of the movement, Comrade He Long specially emphasized the need to persistently seek truth from facts when we pass verdicts. He said: "Passing verdicts is a very serious matter. We must act in accordance with the party's policies, repeatedly verify all findings, appropriately pass verdicts and not take any hasty action."

Comrade He Long was highly praised by the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao for personally taking charge of the movement against the "three evils." Through a XINHUA release, the central authorities urged the leading cadres to follow Comrade He Long's example as "commanding officer who goes to the frontline" and grasp the movement firmly and well.

On the basis of the movement against the "three evils," we began the work of reorganizing the troops. Comrade He Long resolutely supported the Party Central Committee's decision, pointing out that this was a major issue concerning army building and hundreds of thousands of people and that party committees at all levels must satisfactorily accomplish this political task. In view of certain ideological problems existing among the troops at that time, he repeatedly explained the importance of reorganization and frugality. He often said: "We must modernize our army. We will be trounced and beaten if we lag behind." However, "a powerful defense force needs a big and powerful industry as its foundation. If our army does not carry out reorganization and practice economy, our ability to increase production will be adversely affected. This will make it impossible for us to expedite our country's industrialization and quickly

strengthen our defense capability. Reorganization will strengthen our defense capability rather than weaken it."

Comrade He Long pointed out in the course of reorganization that it was necessary to foster the idea of centralization and putting our army on a regular basis, build up a strict military order, strengthen education on discipline and interior service regulations and overcome tendencies towards partisan habits and decentralism among the staff in the whole military area. He also urged the troops to take part in production and construction wherever possible.

#### Showing Consideration for the Whole Nation and Taking Good Care of the Fighters

Comrade He Long always attached primary importance to the party's interests. He took the welfare of the whole nation into consideration, persisted in hard struggle and worked selflessly and assiduously for the party and the people. He was a model for every communist and revolutionary soldier.

Comrade He Long complied with the party's arrangement in all his actions. He often said: "The troops are tools of the party. It makes no difference whom the party entrusts to command them. If the troops I once commanded take orders only from me, that means I have no party spirit and have not educated them well."

Comrade He Long was thorough and conscientious in his style of work and loved to do everything himself. In solving problems and assigning work, he would go down to the actual spot to hold discussions with comrades concerned whenever possible and then quickly make decisions. He had a wide range of knowledge and was witty and humorous when he delivered reports and spoke. He often used simple and easy-to-understand analogies to figuratively explain the instructions of the Party Central Committee and Chairman Mao. Everyone loved to listen to him.

Comrade He Long suffered from high blood pressure and other maladies. In spite of this, he selflessly worked for the party and seldom took a rest. He persisted in hard struggles and plain living, was strict with himself and never sought personal privileges.

Comrade He Long distinguished himself as a man who resolutely carried out Chairman Mao's cadre line, made it his practice to avoid exclusiveness and never formed mountain strongholds or practiced sectarianism. He treated all cadres alike, whether they were his former subordinates or had been transferred from brother units.

Comrade He Long won the heartfelt love of the army men and people in the southwest and the respect of the people of the whole country with his brilliant revolutionary practice. However, he never took credit to himself.

Instead he attributed everything to the efforts of the commanders and fighters. He was humble and prudent and never satisfied himself with past achievements. He often said: "I have enjoyed too much at the expense of the people and have done too little. I feel sorry for this."

My heart churns every time I recall these touching words of Comrade He Long. Despite his boundless loyalty and great contributions to the party, Comrade He Long was made the target of vicious attack by Lin Biao and the "gang of four." They shamelessly fabricated lies to frenziedly frame and persecute him and completely blackened the great achievements of the Southwest Bureau and the Southwest Military Area. However, history cannot be altered and dark clouds cannot obscure the sun. Thanks to the loving care of Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou, Comrade He Long was rehabilitated at long last. Now that the "gang of four" antiparty clique has been smashed in one blow by the Party Central Committee headed by Comrade Hua Guofeng, Comrade He Long's revolutionary deeds are again on everybody's lips. This is very gratifying indeed.

CSO: 4005



## MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

### BRIEFS

**PUNISHMENT OF LAWBREAKERS**--Beijing, June 7 (XINHAU)--A tree-planting brigade leader in Hubei Province, central China, has been expelled from the Communist Party and sentenced by a court to three years in jail for interfering in a girl's marriage and causing her death, reports today's CHINA YOUTH NEWS. An editor's note in the paper points out that the freedom of marriage is guaranteed by the marriage law adopted 29 years ago and by the constitution. But, the paper goes on to say, some cadres still take advantage of their position to commit evil in disregard of both law and party discipline. It attributes this to the sabotage of the socialist legal system by Lin Biao and the gang of four in the past decade. "Our people will never again allow any evil-doers to go unpunished," the paper stresses. "Law breakers must be punished." The girl, Zhan Xiaohong, lived in Xima commune of Xishui County, Hubei Province. She and a young man in her brigade has been in love for more than a year, but the brigade leader, Yan Heli, tried to coax and then to trick her into marrying his own son, and his wife used abusive language to insult her. The girl later poisoned herself. The girl's brother wrote to the CHINA YOUTH NEWS to expose the crime. The county authorities ordered an investigation and brought the culprit to court. The brigade's party branch secretary, Cen Kuoliang, who was party to the crime, was removed from all his posts. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0337 GMT 7 Jun 79 OW]

CSO: 4020

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### DATA PROCESSING OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Apr 79 p 3

[Article by Chen Mingyuan [7115 2494 6678], Institute of Acoustics, Chinese Academy of Sciences: "Data Processing of Chinese Characters and Language Reform"]

[Text] It has been a prevailing viewpoint among nations in recent years that information, energy and materials are the three main pillars of modern science and technology. Many scientists believe that as computers and communication networks become more advanced, an "electronic revolution" of profound influence will bring about an "information-oriented revolution" of even greater significance. Information science, a newly emerging interdisciplinary subject, has thus been established and integrated with "systems engineering" which deals with comprehensive "engineering techniques." Within 10 years the major regions of the world (above all, the modernized nations) will become an "information-dominated society" (or what the Japanese call an "information-oriented society").

Some people anticipate that by the 21st Century, all of man's records and documents will be stored in data processing systems, and that the face of human civilization will be fundamentally altered.

#### What Is "Data Processing of Chinese"

"Data processing of Chinese" refers to the computerizing (using microprocessors chiefly) of large amounts of daily-encountered data and tables (generally called "Chinese data") based on the formation of the language (using Chinese characters and "Pinyin" romanization as the two tools) as derived from all facets of the life in our country's society (especially the area of language research), including such fields as scientific research, planning and management, culture and art and education and public health. Using the electronic computer (chiefly the microprocessor) for such data-processing procedures as acquisition, extrapolation, analysis, processing, storage and transformation, the data and tables are made promptly accessible to the personnel concerned, thereby helping people come up with sound

judgments and timely actions to achieve "high efficiency" in production and in their daily lives. "Chinese data processing" is keyed into the national information network through computers and communication techniques and is further connected with worldwide information networks through satellite communications.

A modernized nation is usually referred to as a "giant." One may say that China's abundant energy resources and material products will become the "bones and flesh" of "the giant of modern China," and that the "Chinese data network" will function as its "nervous system."

Regular production and living cannot be ensured without essential energy resources and raw materials. And, of course, there would not be any modernization of production and consumption if people could not gain quick access to data (information). If it is true that the "electronics revolution" has greatly promoted a high efficiency of industrial production and material life worldwide, then the "information revolution" will definitely induce a "high efficiency" in the culture production and mental life of all mankind. And "high efficiency" is vital to modernization. In this sense, "Chinese data processing" is an extremely significant contribution of modernization.

Now that we are striving hard to reach international standards, we will import many "fruits" of modern science and technology, such as data microprocessors, LCS ["Laser Communications System"] techniques and COMSAT equipment.

But major problems of "Chinese data processing" (particularly the non-numerical application of software to the Chinese language) can only be ironed out by us Chinese. We all "lament" the inherent difficulty of Chinese characters, the lag in our telecommunications techniques and the primitive state of our computers. Yet "lamentation" alone can serve no purpose whatsoever! Practical measures must soon be proposed. What would be the "nice and easy way" to realize "Chinese data processing" step by step? We'd like to recommend the use of both "Pinyin romanization and Chinese characters for data processing to promote the full realization of our four modernizations and that Pinyin be adopted as much as possible in such fields as science and technology when Chinese characters cannot be fed into a computer.

#### Chinese Characters Not Easily Data-Processed

The fact that Chinese characters cannot readily be converted into machine-processable form was dealt with rather thoroughly by Comrade Guo Moruo in his 1964 article "Japan's Reform of Kanji and the Mechanization of Japanese." We would only add that Chinese characters are even harder to data process than he believed.

As processing units of electronic computers, Chinese characters are much "longer" than the Pinyin phonetic spelling.

I will not again go on at length that Chinese characters are not easily inputted into a computer. However, I want to point out that they are not readily suitable for computer output either. Nowadays, for the computer output of symbols, matrix formats are usually used for display, printing and duplication by cathode-ray tube scanning or laser photography. A Latin letter or an Arabic numeral can be displayed through such grid points as  $5 \times 7 = 35$  or  $7 \times 9 = 63$ . But a Chinese character would take  $18 \times 22 = 396$  or  $20 \times 20 = 400$  grid points just to get the crudest display or printout; it would take  $100 \times 100 = 10,000$  grid points to get an ordinary type printout. The number of information bits needed for processing a Chinese character is 10 to 150 times more than for a Latin letter!

Some people have complained that the Pinyin phonetic spelling is "too long." According to statistics, one syllable of Chinese is on the average equivalent to three (2.92 or 3.02) Latin letters. Thus, the number of information bits needed to process a Chinese character is 3 to 50 times more than what would be needed for a word in Pinyin phonetic spelling! Which is then longer and which is shorter? One will definitely have an entirely different view after testing the two systems out on the computer.

The efficiency for processing a Chinese character is much lower than for processing a word in Pinyin.

Furthermore, as we know, the literal data of the 26 Latin letters are extremely handy when it comes to storage, processing and conversion. Whereas since there are nearly 10,000 commonly used Chinese characters, the total number of information bits needed for each character would be 10,000. More than 10 kinds of type font are usually selected to typeset Chinese characters, and each "type font" contains more than 20 styles. If one adds up all the information bits demanded by varied kinds of type font and styles, the total number of all needed information bits will be as high as 20 billion! As yet China doesn't have a "super" computer (even among the imported machines) that could handle such massive storage. Consequently, a format with such an excess capacity would entail intolerable waste.

The amount of the Chinese character data applicable to computer processing is actually much smaller. Therefore one might think up some means to compress the data for Chinese characters so as to reduce the load on computer hardware, although this will result in increasing the software load. Anyway, whatever we do to solve the data problem of Chinese characters, whether it is done at the expense of hardware or software or both, the high cost on machine facilities is rather shocking. In terms of processing efficiency, Chinese characters lag far behind Pinyin romanization.



At present, full application of Pinyin to the computer is not yet possible, and continued use of Chinese characters is still necessary. Under these circumstances, we will try our best to use the computer with Chinese characters, but this is, after all, merely an "expediency." While considering the matter from an overall long-range point of view, we must persist in our approaches to romanization and positively create conditions for its full realization.

#### Prompt Compilation of a "Glossary of Chinese Technical Terms"

While our country's language witnesses a historic period of transition in the use of characters with a gradual conversion to full adoption of a phonetic spelling system, we are also striving hard for our four modernizations. What should we do about Chinese characters?

We should take it as our urgent task to limit the number of characters and narrow down their scope of use. First of all, we should reduce the number of characters to a specific list for modern usage, and then restrict its application to a useful range. From now on, whenever we find it inconvenient to use certain characters, we should replace them with their corresponding phonetic spellings.

Prior to the full realization of a phonetic spelling system, we should officially adopt "A List of Chinese Technical Terms" to facilitate Chinese data processing. As dictated by the needs of our work over recent years, we have tentatively devised a list of "4,000 Chinese Technical Terms"(draft). This list of carefully selected terms, based on the research findings of others as well as on statistical surveys of more than 10 Chinese vocabulary samples (more than 30 million words) made from the 1920's to the 1970's, has been developed on the basis of the formation of Chinese characters and the 10-odd lists of most commonly used words (derived from such fields as education, journalism and publishing). Further revising of this glossary will be done later.

What will then be the use of this "Glossary of Chinese Technical Terms"? First of all, it can be used in Chinese telegrams. Massive amounts of material over the past several years have indicated that the use of nearly 10,000 Chinese characters in telegrams is not necessary. During the past century since the establishment of the Bureau of Telecommunications in 1880, a great number of the characters in the "Standard Telegraphic Code" have never appeared even once or appeared very seldom in telegrams. Generally speaking, the 4,000 "technical characters" are sufficient for Chinese telegrams. Our Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications has successfully trial-manufactured a "Chinese Decoder," which needs 100 core planes to store nearly 10,000 characters (including other numerical symbols) to accommodate the needs of 100 corresponding pages of the "Standard Telegraphic Code" with the Chinese characters displayed by a 20 x 20 magnetic core array. This kind of machine is as heavy and clumsy as two huge wardrobes and its

construction cost is very high. Sixty percent of computer hardware could be saved if we chose to use only the 4,000 technical terms; we could even miniaturize the terminal decoder if we used recently obtained storage techniques.

Besides, the "List of Technical Terms" could be used in the Chinese data processing system. As to the display and printing devices for the Chinese characters in information retrieval, we may as well stipulate that only words listed in this "list" are to be used in the Chinese data processing and that we will handle it as an exception if we ever come across a word not on the list (called "outside words" since their rate of appearance is not as high as .01 percent). In such rare cases, we could actually use an appropriate homophone selected from the list as a substitute or employ a special code number derived from Pinyin. In so doing the load of the programmed Chinese vocabulary would be greatly reduced, and the efficiency of processing Chinese would be enhanced.

As to the electronic phototypesetting technique, we could also restrict the internally stored Chinese vocabulary to only these 4,000 technical terms, and externally store seldom used words on magnetic drums and disks in case we should ever need them in the future.

#### Dual Processing System for Chinese Data Processing--Parallel Programming of Chinese Characters and Pinyin

In his article in ZIRAN KEXUE CHENG MING, Comrade Wang Xianghao, a computer expert, recommended adoption of Pinyin for data processing. We agree with his idea. Nevertheless, prior to the full adoption of a phonetic spelling system, we will have to go through a transition period with characters and Pinyin in parallel use.

Actually, many Chinese scientific researchers have adopted this dual system on a trial basis. The Pinyin system has been in use as an input/output device for years in such areas as machine translation and information retrieval being done by such units as the Institute of Linguistics and Philology, the Institute of Computation Techniques and the China Institute of Scientific and Technological Information. In 1967, we used the phonetic spelling system for electronically processing statistics on Chinese characters. More than 10 years ago, we started to feed Pinyin into the computers to process Chinese. Furthermore, in the foreseeable future Pinyin will become the principal means for Chinese data processing.

We shall adopt a dual processing system for the parallel programming of "Chinese characters and Pinyin," that is, we will fully use the phonetic spelling scheme as our input/output device on the one hand and, on the other, we will input coded characters and output Chinese characters. We could also devise and use a "Pinyin--Chinese character translator" to input phonetic spelling and output characters. These several kinds of Chinese input/output devices could be used in the same Chinese data processing system.

There are 1,200 different basic syllables in Putonghua, but over 7,000 different characters have been included in the XINHUA ZIDIAN [NEW CHINA DICTIONARY]. Our preliminary "Technical Terms" number only 4,000. In other words, there are an average of 3 to 7 homonyms for each syllable. In our glossary of "technical terms" there are as many as 12 characters for each homonym but no group of homonyms contains more than 26 characters. Thus, besides using Pinyin on a trial basis, we could use a "specially designed assembly of symbols" as an additional means to code the Chinese characters. This character-coding device based on "form-sound-rhyme-tone," once installed onto a practical keyboard, will definitely increase the input speed of teletyping Chinese.

#### Practical Retrieval From Chinese Processing Terminals

We anticipate that within the next several years our "Chinese data processing terminals will be available. Operators of modern equipment will then have to make their choices: Which man-machine interaction form shall we choose--the Pinyin format or the character-coding one? He will have no choice but to go with the Pinyin system, especially when he conducts "question and answer-type searches using the specially coded symbols for main (key) words or when he uses the "Chinese-speaking equipment" of an artificial intelligence system.

Without a doubt, Pinyin will be the effective tool for Chinese data processing, and Chinese data processing will definitely bring about the full realization of Pinyin at an early date.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### MORE EMPHASIS PLACED ON LEARNING FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 15 Jun 79 p 2

[Higher Examination Letterbox feature: "On the Question of Grading Foreign Language Examinations"]

[Text] Recently, letters from many fellow students have asked: Why is it this year that foreign language proficiency is counted as 10 percent of the total score for those sitting for examinations at key educational institutions while in ordinary educational institutions this proficiency is still graded only for reference purposes? We will now give our views on this question.

Should foreign languages be tested or not? Should the test count or not in a person's total score? This looks like a question of testing a subject, a question of grading, but in reality it is an important question relating to many other aspects. Everyone knows that foreign languages are an important subject in universities and middle schools and in some elementary schools. In order to realize the four modernizations, to further develop the friendship between the people of our country and the peoples of all other countries in the world, and to study the advanced science and technology of foreign countries, it is necessary to encourage students to learn foreign languages. Higher schools are charged with the important responsibility of developing people with a high degree of expertise. Every university graduate should have proficiency in one or two foreign languages. This requires that when new students enter higher schools they have a fair grounding in foreign languages. Therefore, testing of foreign languages must be part of higher examinations. This kind of ability will be advantageous to the raising of the quality of new students in higher schools, and will also be an incentive to the raising of the level of foreign language teaching in elementary and middle schools.

However, for a long time, owing to the disruption and sabotage caused by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," foreign language courses have been abolished in many elementary and middle schools, where there is a severe shortage of foreign language teachers. There are still many middle schools that do not offer courses in foreign languages. Under these circumstances, it is



necessary that there be a process in restoring foreign language tests for admission into higher schools. In the year before last, when the higher examination system was restored, with the exception of foreign language specialities, there was no foreign language testing. Last year there was a little progress: Foreign languages were included in the examination subjects, but the test results were not figured in the student's total score, being only used for enrollment reference materials. Henceforth, if we were to continue to use grading for reference purposes, this would be disadvantageous to the teaching of foreign languages in elementary and middle schools and the raising of the quality of new students in higher schools. Therefore, further progress was made this year: In key educational institutions foreign language tests are weighted as 10 percent of the total score. Henceforth, this proportion will be raised year by year. In examinations in ordinary educational institutions, foreign language results will, as a temporary measure, not be counted in the student's total score. If this grading proportion were not gradually increased but immediately given full weight in the total score, then many youths who have excellent records in other academic disciplines but did not study or did very little study of foreign languages in middle school, especially the broad masses of youth in rural areas, would not be able to pass college entrance examinations. This state of affairs would surely bury some persons with outstanding ability.

Some incoming letters also reflect the view that, because foreign language proficiency is not given its full weight in a person's total score, this might affect the enthusiasm of some examinees for studying foreign languages, to the extent of affecting the teaching of foreign languages in some middle schools. This situation indeed merits attention. We hope that teachers in these schools will strengthen the education of examinees, making them realize that the purpose of attending university is to further raise their cultural and scientific level and to contribute to the motherland's four modernizations. Mastering foreign languages is an indispensable tool for attaining this objective. All experienced people know that learning a foreign language requires persistence: If a student relaxes for even a day then he is liable to forget much that he has learned, even to the extent of completely losing his previous proficiency. And because many take an examination and few pass, a difference of a few points can make a big difference. This situation is particularly evident in cases of low scores. Therefore, according to present formulations, foreign language proficiency is certainly essential.

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### BRIEFS

BEIJING RADIO PROGRAMS--Beijing, June 5--Beijing People's Broadcasting Station today begins a series of instructional programmes on psychology and pedagogy to be broadcast on Tuesday afternoons. The forty-five minute programmes are produced jointly by Beijing People's Broadcasting Station, Beijing Teachers' University, Beijing Teachers' College and Beijing Education College in order to help school teachers and school administrative cadres to improve their knowledge of psychology and pedagogy. Besides these programmes, the radio also broadcasts two daily courses, since the beginning of this year, on how to teach English and Chinese literature in middle schools. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0253 GMT 5 Jun 79 OW]

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